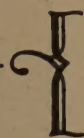


The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

 A CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
for Teachers and Students of History

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No. 3

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The Dance on the Jesuit Stage

Artur F. Michel, M. D.

New York City

THE appearance of the dance on the collegiate stage of the Jesuits and other religious orders cannot be comprehended without a knowledge of the development the dance took on the contemporary worldly theatre from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Dancing on the secular stage of the time, however, did not denote solely the dance one saw in the opera houses and other theatres, but embraced its less known predecessor, the Court ballet.

Stage dancing proper claimed its place within an opera or play as an integral part of the action. Alongside of this dependent type of stage ballet there arose during the eighteenth century a new self-contained, more or less dramatic dance form, called ballet pantomime or *ballet d'action*.

The older species, i.e. the Court ballet, had set itself a task quite unlike that of its successors. It differed chiefly from the stage ballet in that it was danced by the king and his family together with courtiers and ladies-in-waiting. As a feature of court ceremonial, it played an important rôle in the life of the court. The royal personages derived inexhaustible pleasure from appearing as the gods and heroes of antiquity. These superhuman beings had, at that time, an allegorical signification known to every person of culture. Their mythological deeds were interpreted in the Court ballets by spoken or chanted scenes (*Récits*) as a preparation for the dances. In this way, they could serve to celebrate the monarch.

Whereas the development of the ballet in the different European courts has been the subject of some valuable monographs, the history of the ballet of the great religious orders has been almost totally neglected by his-

torians. It is a matter all the more to be wondered at since this notable variety of the Baroque dance was no subsidiary offshoot. True, the dance on the religious stage, especially of the Jesuit Order, would scarcely have been feasible had it not been for the significance and extent of the Court ballet. The theorists of the Jesuit stage actually cite the powerful example of the secular ballet in justification of their use of the dance.

The history of the dance on the stage of the great religious orders runs without a break through almost two centuries. The range and strength of its influence were extraordinary, not only upon pious lay audiences, but also upon the worldly dramatists who incorporated dances into their productions in accordance with the patterns set by the Jesuit stage.

The Purpose of the Dance and Drama

The elemental joy in dance and drama of the Baroque period prevailed also on the religious stage. While the Court ballet was an accepted vehicle for flattering and glorifying the ruler, drama and dance on the religious stage had quite a different purpose. Here their mission was to make visible the fundamental tenets of Catholicism, to act as a weapon in the war waged for the Faith. As the prologue of a tragedy by one of the Jesuit fathers puts it, the audience was to experience "Christian virtues, battles and victories." Scenes of religious courage, zeal, loyalty, struggle, and sacrifice appealed to the imagination of the beholder and, arousing him with wonder, fear, admiration, and enthusiasm, confirmed him in his belief.

After the performance of Jacob Bidermann's "Doctor of Paris" at Munich (1609), fourteen courtiers, relates the chronicle, hurried to the Jesuit College, foreswore their

worldly ways in abject repentance and sought shelter in the arms of the Church. Nor was this an isolated instance. Many of these performances exercised a great influence, even an irresistible spell upon the minds and emotions of their audiences. This effect was brought about not only by the subject of the play and the deep seriousness of its presentation, but also by the employment of music, dance, lavish scenery, and costumes, in a word, all the resources at the disposal of the theatre arts of the day.

Trends

The Jesuit stage, especially in France and Germany, exploited every form of contemporary dramatic expression. Operas, pastoral plays, Alexandrine tragedies, court pageants and ballets—all find counterparts on the stage of the other religious orders. The love of the Renaissance and Baroque for *Trionfi* (festive processions) was gratified in these religious dramas by the staging of resplendent coronation festivals, gay hunting parties, military drills, and clashing battle scenes. By means of addresses, speeches and dialogues, the action led up to impressive mob scenes, progressing inevitably to the dramatic surge and climax which expressed a basic mood of the Baroque. The tendency of the Baroque for antithesis was demonstrated by contrasting grotesquely realistic scenes with solemnly religious ones, magic dream scenes with worldly court ceremonial.

The ballet on the Jesuit stage had its greatest efficacy at a time when art was developing from the so-called "painterly" style into the "decorative" approach to art-forms, that is to say, when the individual work of art as something completely cut off from its surroundings began to lose favor.

A similar trend was operating on the stage, where the self-contained action of the classic drama was no longer in fashion. The blending and interweaving of the various dramas in a performance helped to bring about the enhancement and enrichment of each of them. This accounted for the interpolation of complete operatic scenes, paralleling actions, intermezzi, and especially ballets and various kinds of "dumb show" or pantomimes.

There flared up on the Jesuit stage a tremendous interest in acted (as opposed to danced) pantomime scenes that were not merely interpolated but a component part of the action, growing out of and advancing it. These *scenae mutae* were probably borrowed from the English stage where the "dumb show" had been in vogue since the sixteenth century. They corresponded to the tendency of the religious drama to portray the miraculous; they were frequently put into action for dreams and visions, reminding one of the ghost scene in Shakespeare's "Richard III," as well as the many *ombre* and apparitions of Italian opera.

During the seventeenth century the Jesuit stage, following the example of the secular drama, applied such *scenae mutae* for still another purpose, namely, that of giving a short silent preview of the entire play and of each separate act. The most celebrated of this type of dumb show on the secular stage is the pantomime which ushers in the "play-within-a-play" in "Hamlet." This stage device, originating in England, was observed not

only on the Jesuit stage but appeared also in the German drama of the seventeenth century where it was known as *stille Vorstellung*. Granting the susceptibility to rhythm and music which characterizes the Baroque period plus the intensive choreographic training of the Jesuit pupils, it is easy to see that this prologue form of pantomime often took on a dance quality.

Even before the seventeenth century, Jesuit pupils were being taught acting and dancing—not for professional ends but to fit them for their future spheres and for the exigencies of social life. Skill and power of expression were requisites of public life, just as bodily dexterity and expressiveness were essentials of social life, particularly so at the Court. Thorough and persistent training in harmonious movements, perfect posture and noble carriage, in short, behavior according to court convention, was a necessary part of education. Thus the students were prepared for play-acting, while their stage experience greatly aided their mental and physical upbringing. The Baroque feeling for the grandiose sweeping movement found ample opportunity for expressing itself in the richly vivid play upon the stage.

However, the stage directions indicate that the formalized gesture was not all that was aimed at: even the slightest movement of the single actor as well as that of the multitude was to be charged with emotion and pulsing with passion. "Emotion was everything"—but an emotion compassionate and ever-surging, in accord with the baroque striving for the infinite. Grief, repentance, lament, and pain, hate and wrath, like happiness and joy, love and ecstasy, had to be strikingly conveyed by gestures at once expressive and extravagant. From the stage directions and from the theoretical writings on the subject (see e.g. Pater Franciscus Lang [1654-1725], *Dissertatio de actione scenica*, Munich, 1727) one gets an idea of the extreme adaptability, versatility, and flexibility of which gesture was capable. Amazing also was the ability to convey the different shades of emotion and passion and to portray their gradual growth from inception to climax. In Lang's work, for example, we find directions for a gestural painting of the rise, outburst and final raging of wrath.

The Dance on the Jesuit Stage

With such a well trained student-body available, it was almost inevitable that the dramas of the religious stage should culminate in the dance. Nor was it difficult for the theorists of the Jesuit stage to justify its use. Beside the well-known Pater Menestrier, who devoted an entire book to the ballet and made many references in another work to the topic, two other French Jesuits wrote extensively on the dance, Pater Joseph de Jouvency (1643-1719) in his *Ratio Discendi et Docendi* (1685) and Pater Gabriel François Lejay (1657-1734) in his *Liber de Choreis Dramaticis* (1725). Both uphold their pupils' dancing on pedagogic and histrionic grounds. Lejay characterizes the stage-ballet with the well-known formula "silent poetry" (*muta poesis*); its place on the stage, he says, is due only to its expressive character. Like his contemporary, the great composer and choreographer Lully, Jouvency insisted on a close ideologic

(Please turn to page sixty-three)

The Renaissance—Origin of the Peace Problem

Thomas P. Neill, Ph. D.

St. Louis University, Missouri

THE historian is surprised to find the world grappling with problems of peace as though they are novel. For he knows that the basic problems of peace—never solved in modern times—originated at the beginning of modern times, when Europe suffered a series of basic moral, intellectual, and social eruptions from which Christian society has never fully recovered. He knows that in this period were sowed those seeds of war which have been coming to flower these last hundred years. The Renaissance was a period, of course, during which the masses of people went about their traditional ways oblivious to the changes being wrought in the minds and manners of the few. But those few were the ones who would come to control Europe, and in time to pass on to Western man his new way of life. An examination of the age's dominant notes is therefore helpful to one who would understand the contemporary crisis of civilization.

Viewpoints Change

Western man walked into the fourteenth century fully conscious that he was a social being bound to other men by a series of moral relationships based upon natural and divine law. He walked out of the fifteenth century convinced that he was a self-sufficient individual whose social bonds had been loosed, a law unto himself, a man competing with all other men in an earthy struggle where no holds were barred and where success was the mark of virtue. These two centuries were an age when social cohesiveness was strained and broken. As rugged individuals burst traditional social restraints, thus weakening society, they created the need for stronger legal restraints, thus creating modern absolutistic government. Man walked into the age of the Renaissance a member of society; he walked out of it a passive subject of an all-powerful prince.

Medieval society had been a society of men ordered to a common goal—the living of a good life here on earth so as to attain salvation in the next. Unity of purpose gave medieval society a stability and a unity unknown in modern times. Rather than competing at cross-purposes, men were to work together to help each other in living the good life. In such society there was room for peace, for tranquility and order were possible of achievement. Since law and social relationships were based on God's law, no human activity was amoral. Thus, it was impossible, in theory at least, for a man to exact usury on Friday and go to Mass with a good conscience on Sunday. Religion was not disassociated from the secular affairs of life; social relationships, because they were essentially relationships between moral persons, were primarily moral.

But for about a century before Petrarch ushered in the Renaissance, medieval ideals and practices had been losing their vigor and their hold on men's consciences.

The development of commerce following the crusades gave birth to a new kind of man, and before long this moneyed man had won social approval. He was no lord's vassal and no man's lord; he did not fit into the old social framework, for he was much more an individual than a member of the community. He moved restlessly about, never content, ever seeking more gain. This was a new, a "modern" man.

Spiritual Decline

A new spirit slowly worked its way into men's hearts and began to guide their actions. The guild came to use its monopoly in anti-social fashion for the selfish enrichment of the few masters in control. Kings reached out greedily for more lands than they could ever justify controlling by the feudal principle. Members of the hierarchy became increasingly worldly, interested in self-promotion and forgetful of the medieval ideals from which their lives diverted ever more in practice. The ultimate unity of secular rule, never a real thing in practice although always maintained stoutly in theory, began to weaken as national kingdoms chipped off from the Holy Roman Empire and their rulers claimed absolute independence.

Unfortunately, during this pre-Renaissance period the Church failed to adjust itself to changing conditions—to a world where wealth was reckoned in money instead of land, to a congeries of national states rather than a universal Christendom. And there followed a resultant series of catastrophes which left the Church in a weakened condition when the fifteenth century ended. The "Babylonian Captivity," occurring when national states were in the making, caused the pope's claim to head a Church universal seem like a wry joke to many Europeans. The Great Western Schism rent Christendom for half a century and seemed to reduce the papacy to the level of lowly secular thrones over which contending dynasties battled. When the schism was healed, the pope found it impossible to regain respect from the Western world for more than a century to come. Men were no longer docile when the pope spoke; they were inclined to be critical of his actions and skeptical of his words.

The decline of the Church in this period of transition from medieval times to modern is the key to understanding modern history and modern problems. It was the Church that had formerly given Europe the unity of purpose and the discipline which a teacher gives his class. Studying under one teacher, Europe had everywhere learned the same code of morality, was everywhere subject to the same discipline. But now the authority of that teacher was undermined; and, as happens in the classroom when the teacher loses control, intellectual and moral pandemonium broke out. No longer could one authoritative voice define justice or single out an individual as immoral; no longer could resort be had to one arbiter from whose decision there was no appeal in matters of morality as well as faith.

¹ This article is a digest of one chapter in Dr. Neill's "Weapons for Peace," to be published April 1.

Of all the changes occurring in this period known as the Renaissance, the most important was the change within men's souls. Man's hierarchy of values was completely rearranged so that religion and spiritual things came to be secondary to worldly concerns. God, though not formally denied, was conveniently pushed aside. Man treated this life as an end in itself rather than as the means to the life eternal which it had been in medieval days. Worldly success was the only success in which man was engrossed. Thus was tranquility lost and order disarranged.

Individualism Spreads

Rugged individualism became the ideal standard of conduct for all. Seeking to leave his mark on history, the ideal Renaissance man trod heavily, with no concern about whose toes he might be treading. Julius II, for example, was admired by the Italians not because he was a good pope but because he was the personification of that quality all great men sought to develop—*terribilità*. He cowed men into submission, he overpowered them in argument, he led his troops on the field, he even forced the unbending Michaelangelo to do his bidding. A leader possessed of *terribilità* was seldom guided by any consideration outside himself. He never reasoned with associates, he simply thundered commands; he never made requests, he only shouted orders. The leader in Renaissance society was first and foremost an individual; only by accidents of time, place, and circumstance did he happen to be a social person.

Great men of the day also sought to display the trait of *virtù*, which has been well described as implying "great vigor combined with extraordinary ability crowned with striking success."² Whether or not the observation that the end justifies the means was explicitly made in those days, life was lived on that principle—and the end was worldly success.

Also characteristic of the age was a sort of skepticism which quickly degenerated into a demoralizing cynicism. Lorenzo Valla and Desiderius Erasmus stand forth as better known exponents of this trait. Indiscriminately they attacked what was good and bad, criticizing Church practices, hurling bitter jibes at the papacy, ridiculing the popular cult of saints, scorning formalism and the undue emphasis on ceremony and ritual.

Such attacks as these were coupled with a general rejection of authority. Men of the Renaissance took no one's word for it; they stressed the inductive, scientific method of learning. Such an attitude, healthy when applied within proper limits, became vicious as the pendulum swung from medieval trust of authority to skepticism of anything that could not be touched or tasted. Relatively few men formally rejected the Faith, but the lurking suspicion set in that it was safer to seize all the pleasures one could experience here and now and take a chance about that after-life which no longer seemed so imminently and dreadfully certain.

During this period there also developed a neo-Platonic philosophy that largely replaced what was left of the

traditional thought of medieval times.³ Platonic academies were organized in all leading centers of Renaissance culture; those who subscribed to the old Scholastic thought were considered outmoded. The voluntarist turned man's relation to the world inside out. Reality was made to conform to his mind and will, rather than his mind to reality. This voluntarism, which was to play such havoc among philosophers in modern times, received new impetus in late medieval and early modern times; but it did not reach the extreme conclusions it would in more recent centuries.

These characteristics cultivated by the Renaissance—*terribilità*, *virtù*, skepticism, voluntarism—all converged in the individual, who was made a law unto himself, who became the final arbiter for religion, morality, philosophy, politics, and social life. For this was an age of individualism above everything else. The individual had succeeded, indeed, in casting off restraint. The social restraints of feudal days, consisting of contractual relationship with a lord above and vassals or serfs below, were unknown to those city-dwelling individuals who gave the Renaissance its tone. The moral and religious authority of the Church was pretty generally ignored, sometimes even explicitly denied. Man was completely forgetful that he was a social being bound to his neighbors by reciprocal rights and duties; he tended now to be a self-sufficient individual, a petty tyrant unchecked by any power save that of a stronger tyrant.

Passing of Medievalism

Such a condition led necessarily to a period of anarchy, the transition period when medieval feudal institutions were decaying and the modern absolute state was taking form. This period of anarchy, of unlimited social and political competition, of survival of the strongest, necessarily resulted in the absolute rule of those who were sufficiently strong and clever to assert themselves and override all opposition. It was an age of petty tyrants, who came first in the many Italian states. Intrigues, alliances and counter-alliances, leagues and counter-leagues, wars one after another followed throughout Italy until, weakened to prostration, she succumbed to foreign powers and became the football of international power politics. Meanwhile the absolute state was being created in Spain, in France, in England and to a less extent in the other countries of Europe.

Perhaps the best expression of what was happening to men is found in Machiavelli's *Prince*, a guide-book for rulers which admits of no morals, no inhibitions, no restraints. Machiavelli insists throughout that success and expediency are the sole criteria for judging actions. The prince must "learn to be good or otherwise according to the exigence of his affairs"; he must "play the hypocrite well." Machiavelli, indeed, completely divorces politics and social activity from morality. By so doing he justifies the power politics and the international anarchy which the world is called upon today to bring to an end.

All of these trends developed in the Renaissance were disruptive of that "tranquil living together in order," which is St. Thomas' definition of peace. They made justice almost impossible of attainment and they

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² Henry S. Lucas, *The Renaissance and the Reformation*, 204.

³ The form of Scholasticism most widely taught by the time of the Renaissance, of course, was the Nominalism of William Occam.

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EDITORIAL

Warning to the Historian

Historians recently had an opportunity to observe in action a type of thinking which is, unfortunately, not sufficiently uncommon in these United States of ours, even in circles where enlightened intelligence and strict objectivity are presumed to be in the ascendant. Some of the chief manifestations of this particular brand are a certain none-too-well restrained emotionalism, an even greater element of intolerance, and a seeming inability to think in terms other than what logicians call contradictions. Unchecked, this frame of mind, born of such an unwholesome combination, can become very dangerous. For this reason it may be worth our while to turn a bit of serious consideration to the problem which it raises.

Emotionalism is not necessarily a bad thing nor must it be unequivocally banned from the historian's knapsack. Certainly, it is the very natural reaction of a person who perceives a point very clearly and feels its truth very strongly. A dash of emotion can impart life and warmth and beauty to the consequent delineation of the event or the movement or the personality. This thing which we might call emotionalism *a parte post* is a good and noble human manifestation, to be cultivated and cherished. But, on the other hand, emotionalism can also turn one into attitudes of mind which do not promote clear thinking nor lead to truth. Antecedent emotionalism, under the spell of which one addresses himself to an examination of the evidence, is very apt to color the consequent interpretation to such a degree as to make its relationship to the objective facts quite unrecognizable. This so-called antecedent emotionalism can so mould the mind of the investigator that only such of the evidence as fits the mould is accepted. And what is more serious still is the fact that it blinds him to the falsity of his position, pretending, as he does, to be perfectly and serenely fair and objective. We are the last who would wish to see the enthusiasm, born of the perception of historical truth, discarded in the name of no matter what high principle of supposed scientific objectivity. We want the historian to remain his human self, to write and lecture as a man. The emo-

tions are a noble part of his human mechanism. But let them be used to serve truth and not prejudice or party-pleading.

More serious as a symptom of muddle-headedness is the element of intolerance. Strangely enough, it is a disease to which we Americans of the United States are distressingly susceptible, precisely because we have built up in our own minds a sort of myth of American immunity to that very common human failing. We point with pride to our long and quite unique record of religious toleration. From the first days of our Republic religious freedom has formed one of the constitutional guarantees of which we are proudest. Again, save for a few October weeks every fourth year, we are quite generally tolerant of other political opinions—at least we do not resort to arms to force the triumph of our own convictions, no matter how strongly we may feel these. And again, we are quite generally tolerant of personal and group habits and customs which often diverge considerably from our own. By and large, and rather strictly within the limits of the Caucasian race, we are tolerant of other peoples. We survey this fine record, swell with justifiable pride, and allow ourselves to be lulled into the conviction of being the most tolerant people in God's wide world. Maybe, on the basis of an overall comparison, we are. But sometimes it could be that what we call tolerance may be nothing more than a lesser degree of the opposite vice.

In a remarkably short time-span we Americans of the United States have done a magnificent job in carving a nation out of the almost virgin wilderness of the middle band of the North American continent and in peopling it with the rehabilitated humans whom the Old World was either unwilling or unworthy to have. Spirit, enthusiasm, hard work, inventiveness, foresight, courage, daring, and a dozen more things have gone into the building of American greatness. Back in the early days our Founding Fathers took the theories out of the books of political philosophers and proved their workableness in actual life. Geographic and economic obstacles have melted before our youthful persistence and dogged determination. And so on down the long list we have

turned in a fine record and are justly proud of our achievements. We have to be on our guard lest success goes to our head in a very dangerous sort of way, lest it makes us intolerant.

The successful man is often unduly impatient with his fellow whose efforts fail to produce a result comparable to his own. He sometimes is deluded into believing that he and he alone has found the magic formula and that the other man's lack of results is directly traceable to a stupid refusal to follow "the one and only way." This is a form of intolerance to which we Americans of the United States are peculiarly allergic. It is a form against which we must always be on our guard, and particularly in these times when our future role of leadership in world affairs imposes new and ever-increasing responsibility. We have to be tolerant at home, if we expect to be so abroad. We are not, or at least should not be, fighting to impose our ideas, our way of life, our standard of living on the rest of the world which may not be interested or may have reasons, sound reasons for preferring another.

Our American devotion to democracy as a form of government offers an excellent example in point. It has worked for us, our type of democracy. That does not mean that it will make every other people in the world happy and prosperous. Democracy is, after all, simply a means to an end and not an end in itself. The end of all government and political society is the assurance to man of the possibility of enjoying the fundamental human rights with which the Creator endowed all rational creatures, those rights which we proclaimed in our immortal Declaration of Independence, namely, "to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Strange as it may seem to Americans who have not taken the trouble to give a bit of serious thought to the problem, these several human rights can be preserved for man in other forms of government. Monarchy, benevolent despotism; aristocracy, and the rest, insofar as they make it possible for subjects to live their lives in accord with the pattern traced by the Creator, are valid and even worthy means to the all-important end. True, we Americans want none of those other types, but we should be willing to recognize facts, even though these may lie in the philosophical order.

We are correct in our determined opposition to every form of totalitarianism—be it Nazi, Fascist, Communist—for here is one philosophy of life and government which negates in favor of the State the "unalienable" rights and the God-given dignity of the individual. We would be intolerant, however, were we to claim that our brand of democracy alone would solve the world's problems, that it alone assures the enjoyment of those human rights and liberties. There may be peoples who are poorly fitted for democracy as we understand and practice it. To demand that they conform would be to prejudice the cause for which we fight and the ideals which we cherish. The story of the "Inter-War World" should teach a lesson. There may be other peoples who rightly feel that they can enjoy "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" under other political regimes. For example, the historian, of all people, should know that

there have been good monarchies in the ages past.

Considerations such as these suggest the transition to the third of the characteristics mentioned earlier, namely the seeming inability of some Americans to think save in terms of contradictories. Very frequently things which are merely contrary, in the sense of the logician, are put into the contradictory category. Not-black is the contradictory of black. But everything which is not-black is not necessarily white; it may be green or blue or red or yellow or a thousand-and-one different colors. This illogical tendency of much American reasoning reminds one rather forcibly of the conclusion of the high Soviet official, mentioned in William L. White's *Report on the Russians*, who was expressing surprise to that author that the "fascist press" was allowed so much liberty in the United States. When Mr. White showed some puzzled surprise at the statement, the Communist "logician" explained that the press must be fascist since it so frequently criticized Communism. Unfortunately for some people, the human mind is just not constructed in such wise that it can make a complete logical disjunction between two contrary propositions. The mind rebels and says "*Datur tertium*."

In very few aspects of human relationships are we justified in applying to ourselves the disjunction of Christ, "He who is not with me is against me." We should beware, lest we condemn thereby our nation's long tradition of neutrality—granting all the while that it has outlived its usefulness. A case in point! He who, with the unmistakable evidence of the facts and events of the last several decades before him, mentions that Liberal democracy is passing is not necessarily a Fascist or an enemy of democracy nor has he lost faith in the democratic ideal. Rejection of Liberalism does not of itself connote adherence to the ideology of the enemy. *Datur tertium*! Let us hope and pray that American democracy is bigger and broader and more vital than the brand which Liberalism adulterated and sought to sell as the real thing. We know it is.

What we have said of democracy is equally applicable in a hundred different instances. Historians to whom the world looks for the lessons of the past, historians, above all others, must be careful of muddle-headedness, loose thinking, and intolerant emotionalism. Our responsibilities are too great.

The Conventions

For two busy days, December 28 and 29, the historians gathered in Chicago at the third of their war-time meetings. This one came closer to being a convention approaching previous numbers than either of its two bob-tail predecessors. Perhaps, this was due to the place, Chicago; this made possible the attendance of a fairly large representation from the Middle West, as well as from the seaboard. Perhaps, again, it was because the profession felt the need of the stimulation which these gatherings give. In all events, it was a worthwhile session and made one more than a bit nostalgic as well as hopeful that the day may not be too far in the future when once again these annual meetings can be held without either scruple or too great inconvenience.

Classical Antiquity and the Modern Historian

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THROUGHOUT the last century the Latin and Greek classics have been on the decline in our curricula. Today American high schools are teaching little Latin and less Greek. In the popular mind these languages and their literature stand indicted as "dry-as-dust," "unreal and impractical," and "no way connected with modern life."

Contemporary students of modern history have to a large extent been blinded by this popular view. They will admit the ascendancy which Greece and Rome exercised over the mind of the Italian Renaissance, and they will describe with gentle pleasantries the Augustan Age of the eighteenth century in France and England; but, on the whole, historical scholarship has neglected the role of antiquity as an influence in molding the modern European mind.

This condition probably exists because of a misconception. It is thought that only the frivolous and literary part of early modern European society looked backwards to the golden age of Greece and Rome whereas the true intellectuals struck out boldly towards a New Science and a New Rationalism. The study of the currents in the intellectual revolution of Modern Europe can bring one to only one conclusion; namely, that the influence of classical antiquity has usually been the greatest when European man has tried to be the most revolutionary.¹

New Beginnings

It is only in the past two decades that one phase of the influence of antiquity has begun to take definite form in historical knowledge. In 1925 Carl Becker in a review of Fay's *L'Esprit révolutionnaire en France et aux Etats-Unis* wrote the following appeal:

Will not some one write a book showing how the revolutionary state of mind was nourished on an ideal conception of classical republicanism and Roman virtue? Just why did Madame Roland often weep to think that she had not been born a Spartan? Just why did John Adams ask himself if Demosthenes, had he been a deputy to the First Continental Congress, would have been satisfied with non-importation and non-exportation agreements? To know the answers to these questions would help much to understand both the French and American revolutions.²

Strangely enough there has always been a sufficiency of books which describe the excesses occasioned by the cult of antiquity in the French Revolution. We have studies of the *Age des Merveilleuses* in the books of the

brothers de Goncourt and of M. Minnegorode.³ Edouard Lévy has given us a graphic picture of the influence of classical antiquity in the revolutionary symbolism of the common people, particularly during the time of Danton and Robespierre.⁴ As early as 1795 a French school teacher blamed the whole of the Revolution upon the teaching of the classics in the French schools.⁵ And Albert Mathiez, the most sensitive of contemporary historians for such intellectual currents in the French Revolution, has summarized the whole movement thus:

Mankind has need, in the course of its trying and discouraging march forward, to have its illusions rekindled in the warm rays of the past. The revolutionaries of 1789 drew sustenance for their struggles from the memory of the republics of antiquity . . . Plutarch was before their minds and his spiritual exaltation served to exalt their courage and increase their faith in the Revolution. They imitated the heroes of Greece and Rome and like them gave up their lives for their faith—becoming in their turn heroes. For their descendants they became what Aristides, Brutus, and Cato had been to them—martyrs who by their lives and their deaths bear witness to the abiding strength of devotion to justice and selfless love of humanity.⁶

Yet the first systematic study of this influence in the French Revolution proper did not appear until 1937 when Harold T. Parker, inspired by the passage quoted above from Carl Becker's review, chose this subject for his doctoral dissertation.⁷

Thus, the field is still largely a *terra incognita*. Yet it is such a rich field that every study of personages or events during this period gives many fruitful hints for further study. Professor Etienne Gilson has completed, though not yet published, researches which trace the classical and patristic influence through the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century and which will aid materially in a proper re-interpretation of the thought of the Middle Ages and the Reformation. It is almost certain that a study of the classical backgrounds of such men as Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Quesnay, Hume, and d'Holbach, to mention just a few, will reveal to a startling degree the intellectual bases of their systems. As Charles Homer Haskins has said:

From the fall of the Roman Empire down well into modern times the Latin classics furnished the best barometer of the culture of each period in Western Europe. Never wholly lost from sight, their study rose and fell in close relation to the general level of education and intellectual activity.⁸

Nature of the Influence

A priori the historian would certainly expect an influence to be exercised by classical antiquity upon the European mind of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Classical authors, in the day when

¹ J. H. Randall notices this regarding some of the early scientific discoveries. "The natural science of early modern times was thus hardly a complete break with the past, but rather a continuous development from the most critical teachings of the later Middle Ages, stimulated by technical demands and inspired by fresh contact with the achievements of Alexandrian thought. Above all, the independent observation of nature played at first but little part, especially in the mathematical sciences of astronomy and physics. Copernicus found his epoch-making discovery, not by observing the stars . . . but by reading Cicero . . . Even Galileo owed his formulation of dynamics to no experimental discovery . . . He worked out his dynamics rather by applying the mathematical methods of Archimedes to the diagrams of the Paris Ockamites." (*Making of the Modern Mind*, 218. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1940.)

² *American Historical Review*, XXX (19) 811-812.

³ *Histoire de la société française pendant la Révolution* and *The Magnificent Comedy*.

⁴ *Le manuel des pronoms*. Paris: Rousseau, 1922.

⁵ C. F. Volney, *Leçons d'histoire* (1795). *Oeuvres complètes*, 577-595. Paris: Didot, 1860.

⁶ "French Revolution," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, VI, 482.

⁷ *The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionaries: A Study of the Development of the Revolutionary Spirit*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.

⁸ *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, 93-94. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.

national literatures had few outstanding authors, were the ordinary reading matter, in the original or in translation, of all classes. The civilization of Greece and Rome was admired as something worth imitating. The thought or "wit" of classical thinkers was considered to be that of preeminent authorities. The political organizations which could nourish the art and thought of Greece or produce the magnificence and power of Imperial Rome were considered almost divine. Social philosophy, a "natural" system of ethics such as that of the Epicureans or Stoics, seemed very attractive.

This is not to say that the influence of classical antiquity was the only influence or even the major influence. In some cases it undoubtedly was; in others, it occupied a third or even a fourth place. But if the influence of classical antiquity so permeated an entire age that its influence was a true intellectual leaven, then that influence must be recognized and evaluated before the intellectual history of that age can be adequately understood. Even the figures who tried to revolt against the classical influence might still be immersed in its tradition, for no man is able entirely to escape the spirit and thought of his age.

We might with some profit distinguish between an active and a passive influence of classical antiquity in the following way. We might call that influence "active" which truly leads men to think in a certain way, and that influence "passive" which men use as a confirmation or justification of thoughts which they already have. Probably most intellectual influences are a combination of the two. Thus a person may have a half-formed idea which becomes clearer and more precise under the active influence of a book or teacher. Most of the better "teachings of history" probably fall into this third class. There is a solid foundation for the "lesson" which is being drawn, but the force and emphasis of the lesson is dependent upon the skill and energy of the particular historian. It has been truly said that historians, not history, teach.

The Example of Montesquieu

Baron Charles de Montesquieu (1689-1755) is an excellent example of this influence. He was probably the most erudite of the eighteenth-century *philosophes* and also among the most influential. In the eighteenth century his *Spirit of the Laws* was considered the monumental work of legal and political philosophy. His *Considerations on the Causes of the Grandeur and Decline of the Romans* was widely read both in France and England and was a common prize given in secondary schools to outstanding students. Gibbon himself acknowledges this work to have inspired his *Decline and Fall*.⁹ He was of some influence in the making of the American Constitution, especially as an interpreter of the "spirit" of the English Constitution.¹⁰ His *Consid-*

erations together with De Mably's *Entretien de Phocion* and Rousseau's *Social Contract* furnished the age with its most widely read interpretation of classical antiquity.

It would be a mistake to look upon Montesquieu as "typical." Very rarely is any concrete person a true type. Yet Montesquieu furnishes a good example from which profitable comparisons may be drawn as an aid to subsequent investigations.

Montesquieu was undoubtedly influenced by classical antiquity. This is evidenced by the vast array of citations of classical authors which crowd the pages of his books. In the *Spirit of the Laws* he cites numerous classical authors including eight philosophers, thirty-eight historians, three moralists, six orators, seven rhetoricians, seven poets, three letter writers, three scientific writers, eight compilers, three jurisconsults, and four legal compilations.¹¹ In the *Considerations* we find citations from sixty-nine different authors.¹² And the citations themselves, numerous as they are, are no true indication of the full extent of the influence of classical antiquity upon his thought, for many evident parallels to classical authors exist for which Montesquieu makes no acknowledgment of dependence.¹³

However, this is not to say that classical antiquity was the principal influence on Montesquieu's intellectual development. Besides classical antiquity there was the influence of the New Rationalism created by an

(Please turn to page sixty-two)

he is cited in newspapers, letters, diaries, and speeches by leading figures of the day. Mr. Spurlin particularly points out the *Federalist Papers* as a work which shows influence of classical antiquity and of Montesquieu.

Philosophers: Aristotle, Cicero, Epicurus, Favorinus, Philo Judaeus, Plato, Porphyry, Sextus Empiricus.

Historians: Agathias, Ammianus Marcellinus, Appian, Arrian, Aurelius Victor, Caesar, Capitolinus, Cassiodorus, Dio Cassius, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Eusebius, Evagrius, Flavius Vopiscus, Florus, Hanno, Herodian, Herodotus, Jordanis, Josephus, Justin, Livy, Nepos, Plutarch, Polybius, Priscus, Procopius, Sallust, Socrates, Sozomenus, Suetonius, Tacitus, Thucydides, Valerius Maximus, Valleius Paternulus, Xenophon, Zonaras, Zosimus.

Moralists: Plutarch, Seneca, Tertullian.

Orators: Aeschines, Andocides, Cicero, Demosthenes, Lysias, Pliny the Younger.

Rhetoricians: Aristides, Curius Fortunatus, Dio Chrysostomus, Julian, Libanius, Philostratus, Quintilian.

Poets: Homer, Horace, Juvenal, Lucretius, Martial, Ovid, Virgil.

Letter Writers: Cicero, Julian, Pliny the Younger.

Scientific Writers: Pliny the Elder, Ptolemy, Strabo.

Compilers: Athenaeus, Aulus Gellius, Festus Avienus, Photius, Pollux, Stobaeus, Suidas, Xiphilin.

Jurisconsults: Gaius, Paul, Ulpian.

Legal Compilations: Digest, Institutes of Justinian, Justinian Code, Theodosian Code.

¹² Aelius Lampridius, Aelius Spartianus, Agathias, Ammianus Marcellinus, Appian, Aristotle, Arrian, Athenaeus, St. Augustine, Aulus Gellius, Aurelius Victor, Caesar, Cantacuzene, Capitolinus, Cassiodorus, Cicero, Dexippus, Dio Cassius, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Epicurus, Eusebius, Eutropius, Evagrius, Flavius Vopiscus, Favorinus, Florus, Frontinus, Herodian, John of Antioch, Jordanis, Josephus, Julius, Justinian, Lactantius, Leo the Grammarian, Livy, Malchus, Menander, Nicephorus, Nicetas, Olympiodorus, Orosius, Pachymerus, Philo Judaeus, Philostorgus, Plato, Plautus, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Polybius, Porphyry of Tyre, Priscus, Procopius, Sallust, Salvian, Sextus Empiricus, Socrates, Sozomenus, Suetonius, Suidas, Symmachus, Tacitus, Trebellianus Polio, Valerius Maximus, Vegetius, Vulcatius Galicanus, Xiphilin, Zonaras.

¹³ L. M. Levin, *The Political Doctrine of Montesquieu's Esprit des Loix: Its Classical Background*, pp. xi-xiii. New York: Institute of French Studies, 1936.

⁹ See F. T. H. Fletcher, *Montesquieu and English Politics, 1750-1800*. New York: Longmans, 1940.

¹⁰ See H. Knust, *Montesquieu und die Verfassung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (München und Berlin: Oldenbourg, 1922) and Paul M. Spurlin, *Montesquieu in America* (University: Louisiana State University Press, 1940). Knust tries to trace the doctrinal influence; Spurlin tries to establish Montesquieu's influence on the basis of presence of copies of his works in public and private libraries and on the extent to which

Italian Political Pasquinades and Lampoons

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On account of war conditions our printer finds it impossible to obtain the proper font for setting accents in the Italian selections of this article. We regret this situation.

A NEGLECTED aspect of Italian history would seem to be the study of the origin, development, and influence of the political pasquinade. Italian in conception, this form of epigram flourished from the Middle Ages until after 1870. During the early modern period, it was to an extent the equivalent of the broadside and pamphleteering common elsewhere. Examples of the genre may be found in many of the principal histories of the peninsula. As far as this writer knows, no effort has been undertaken to examine and appraise the extent and importance of these satires. To be sure, in 1544 the heretical humanist, Celio Secondo Curione published at Basel the two-volume *Pasquillus extaticus* of scurrilous anti-clerical verse. Recently the Silenzis have approached the problem while Gnoli and Cesareo have discussed the beginnings of the pasquinade.¹ Otherwise little has been done. The examples cited below were noted in casual reading in the history of the Risorgimento and are offered to show the need for an adequate investigation of this literature.

By the end of the medieval period the epigram was commonplace in Italy. Princes, prelates, and women were particularly singled out for attack. It was the custom in Rome to post these libels on churches and other buildings. The marbles of the villa of Giovanni Goritz above the Trajan Forum, the church of Sant' Agostino, and the statue of Pasquin were favorite locations. This latter was a Greek monument of the third century B.C., supposed to have either the head of Menelaus and the body of Patroclus or of Ajax and Achilles. The Pasquin was found at Rome in 1501. Cardinal Oliviero Carafa who immediately recognized the classic beauty of the piece, raised it on a pedestal in front of his residence, the Palazzo Orsini. During succeeding centuries it became the symbol of anonymous Roman satire. Epigrams and lampoons were scribbled or pasted on it and few were the public figures to escape Pasquin's sharp tongue. Many of the verses took the form of conversations between Pasquin and Marforio.² Marforio was a statue of the first century A.D., representing the river god. It was formerly on a street at the foot of the Capitoline; now it is in the Capitoline museum.

Various suggestions have been advanced to account

for the name *Pasquin*, some saying that Pasquin was a tailor near whose shop the statue was found, and others claiming an inn or Siennese exile as the namesakes. Regardless of the origin of the name, Pasquin's popularity was instantaneous, more than three thousand satires appearing on his statue in 1509 alone.

Pasquinades in History

Neither money nor position provided immunity against his wit, and even patrons had to beware of what he might say. Thus, because some Romans regarded Pope Clement XI as being too free-handed with his relatives at Urbino, Pasquin and Marforio exchanged this conversation:

Che fai, Pasquino?

Eh, guarda Roma, che non vada ad Urbino

What are you doing Pasquin?

Oh, I am keeping an eye on Rome, to see that it doesn't leave for Urbino.³

Most interesting of the lampoons are those of the unification period. Beginning with Bonaparte's invasion in 1796 of the Italian states, Pasquin and Marforio took part in that awakened nationalism which began to make itself felt more and more. The Roman penchant for a play on words may be illustrated by this observation and retort:

Pasquino, è vero che i francesi sono tutti ladri?

Tutti no, ma buona parte.

Is it true, Pasquin, that the French are all robbers?

Not all, but a good part (Bonaparte).⁴

In 1798, the first Roman Republic was proclaimed by the Francophile Jacobin party in the city. Pope Pius VI was removed to Valence in France on the Rhone and the task of the liberation of the Eternal City fell to King Ferdinand IV of Naples. Ferdinand declared himself the protector of the Church and marched against the Jacobins. Though assisted by the British navy under Lord Nelson, his indecision proved disastrous, and he and his soldiers were routed in the initial campaign by the French. A wag of the period described the episode in these words:

Con soldati infiniti

Si mosse da' suoi liti

Verso Roma bravando

Il re don Ferdinando

E in pochissimi di

Venne, vide e fuggi.

With numerous soldiers,

In threatening fashion,

King don Ferdinand

Moved from his lands towards Rome

And in a very few days,

He came, he saw and he fled.⁵

Once the Roman Republic was history and Pope Pius VII had arrived at Rome, a reaction against French innovations was inevitable. The new pontiff, elected at the Venice conclave in 1800, was criticized because of his concordat, made in 1801 with Bonaparte, and

¹ R. and F. Silenzi, *Pasquino: cinquecento pasquinate* (Milan, 1932); D. Gnoli, "Le origini di maestro Pasquino," *Nuova Antologia*, Jan. 1 and 16, 1890; and G. Cesareo, "La formazione di mastro Pasquino," *ibid.*, May 1 and June 1, 1894.

² Conversations were made up also between Pasquin and the Abbé Luigi, statue of an ancient orator, now located in Sant' Andrea della Valle, with *Madama Lucrezia*, remains of a statue of the Egyptian Isis near the Palazzetto di Venezia, and the *Gobbo di Rialto*, carved in the mid-sixteenth century by Pietro di Salo for Venice.

³ Grant Showerman, *Eternal Rome* (New Haven, 1925), 487.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 528.

⁵ Vittorio Fiorini, "I francesi in Italia," *La vita italiana durante la rivoluzione francese e l'impero* (Milan, 1910), 156.

because of his trip to Paris in 1804 to crown Napoleon as emperor of the French. It was easy for scandal-mongers, unacquainted with anything but the superficial facts to quote:

*Pio Sesto, per conservar la fede,
Perdè la sede;
Pio Settimo, per conservar la sede,
Perdè la fede.
Pius the Sixth, to preserve his faith
Gave up his See;
Pius the Seventh, to preserve his See
Gave up his faith.⁶*

The Romans were not yet finished with the French. June 10, 1809 found the troops of General Sixte Miollis occupying the Patrimony of St. Peter and Umbria, and the proclamation of annexation of these states to Napoleon's empire being read by heralds on the Capitoline, in the Piazza del Popolo, the Piazza Colonna and the Piazzini Venezia. Only Pasquin protested:

*Capo ladro, questo Napoleone,
Persecutore della religione,
Emulo di Nerone.
This Napoleon is a bandit chief,
A persecutor of religion
And an imitator of Nero.⁷*

The French, of course, for their part replied with:

*E torrenti di luce il sol diffuse
Napoleone Dio, Napoleone!
Rispondeva la terra, e il ciel si chiuse.
The sun cast great rays of light,
The sky was blotted out,
And the earth responded:
Napoleon, Lord, Napoleon!⁸*

On February 22, 1813, the official announcement was made in Rome of the signing of the new concordat at Fontainebleau by the Emperor and Pope Pius VII. By way of celebration, General Miollis demanded that the papal vicegerent in charge of the Roman bishopric order a Te Deum sung. The majority of the people refused to credit the news, believing it merely a Bonapartist trick to maintain the imperial regime:

*Te Deum laudamus,
Noi non speriamo,
Ed a Bonaparte non crediamo.
Te Deum laudamus,
We hope not,
And we do not believe in Bonaparte.⁹*

With the passing of the Napoleonic era, the wits of Rome sought some other scapegoat to deride. It was then that the ubiquitous Jew was remembered. Cardinal della Genga succeeded to the throne of St. Peter as Leo XII in 1823. Two of his first acts were to enlarge the ghetto and set up stricter regulations for wine sellers. Hence this doggerel:

*Fior di mughetto
Papa Leone è diventato matto
Ha chiuso le osterie e allarga il ghetto.
Lily of the valley,
Pope Leo has become mad,
He has closed the inns and enlarged the ghetto.¹⁰*

That any temporal ruler has his enemies is patent. When Leo XII died following an operation, his opponents rejoiced:

*Al chirurgo s'appone
La morte di Leone;
Roma però sostiene
Che egli ha operato bene.*

The death of Pope Leo
Was the fault of the surgeon;
Rome, however, maintains
That he operated successfully.¹¹

The Italians shook off foreign absolutism for a brief moment in 1848. It was not possible to maintain this freedom and 1849 saw the restoration of the old conservative rulers. During the decade of the 1850's several devices were used to show one's political preferences. At the Sapienza in Rome or in the streets, friends would greet each other with the salutation "Piove?" ("Is it raining?") The real meaning was "Pius or Victor Emmanuel?" To which the response was "Non piove" ("It is not raining"). This meant, "Not Pius, Victor Emmanuel."¹²

The numerals of the year 1859 were used for patriotic propaganda in this fashion:

1

8

5

9

—

23 or *ventitre*, which was

composed of the initials of these words: "Vittorio Emanuele, Napoleone Terzo, Italia tutta ricongiunta eternamente" ("Victor Emmanuel, Napoleon the Third, all Italy eternally reunited").¹³

Similarly may be recalled the enthusiastic cries of "Viva Verdi" which greeted the composer when he visited Naples, capital of the Two Sicilies. The Verdi people were really cheering "Vittorio Emanuele, re d'Italia" ("Victor Emmanuel, king of Italy").

A song of the 1860's expresses the difficulty of completing the political unification of the country with the incorporation of Rome and Venice into the new kingdom:

| | |
|---|------------|
| <i>L'Austria piena di debiti abborisce il</i> | <i>Do</i> |
| <i>La Prussia sempre indecisa non dice mai</i> | <i>Si</i> |
| <i>Il Papa fa gli ultimi sforzi per esser</i> | <i>Re</i> |
| <i>L'Inghilterra in qualunque questione risponde</i> | <i>Mi</i> |
| <i>L'Italia guarda Roma e Venezia e dice</i> | <i>Là</i> |
| <i>Il Temporale per non cadere vorrebbe fermare il</i> | <i>Sol</i> |
| <i>E in mezzo a tante ciarle la sola Francia</i> | <i>Fa</i> |
| <i>E sol, do, re, mi, fa—l'Italia si farà</i> | |
| <i>E do, re, mi, fa, sol—si fa, chè Dio lo vuol</i> | |
| <i>E si, re, sol, mi, do—Gigin lo proclamo</i> | |
| <i>E fa sol, re, do, mi—Dev'esser così</i> | |
| <i>E là, do, si, sol, re—il Papa non è Re</i> | |
| <i>E si, si, si, si—A Roma di noi sarà</i> | |
| <i>E si si, si, si, si—A rivederci lì.</i> | |
| <i>Austria, debt-ridden, abhors</i> | Giving |
| <i>Prussia, always undecided, never says</i> | Yes |
| <i>The Pope is making his last attempts to</i> | |
| <i>become</i> | King |
| <i>England to every question responds</i> | Me |
| <i>Italy looks at Rome and Venice and says</i> | There |
| <i>To avoid collapse the Temporality would</i> | |
| <i>stop the</i> | Sun |
| <i>And in the midst of so many idle</i> | |
| <i>reports, only France</i> | Acts |
| <i>And sol, do, re, mi, fa—Italy will be unified</i> | |
| <i>And do, re, mi, fa, sol—What God wills will be done</i> | |
| <i>And si, re, sol, mi, do—Gigin proclaimed this</i> | |
| <i>And fa, sol, re, do, mi—Must be so</i> | |
| <i>And là, do, si, sol, re—The Pope is not king</i> | |
| <i>And sol, mi, fa, do là—Rome will be ours</i> | |
| <i>And si, si, si, si, si—Here's to meeting there.¹⁴</i> | |

(Please turn to page sixty-seven)

⁶ Showerman, 528.

⁷ Louis Madelin, *La Rome de Napoléon* (Paris, 1906), 24.

⁸ Fiorini, 187.

⁹ Madelin, 594.

¹⁰ Giorgio Piceno, "Pasquino e gli Ebrei," *La difesa della razza*, Sept. 20, 1938, 23.

¹¹ Showerman, 530.

¹² Ruggiero de Cesare, *The Last Days of Papal Rome* (Boston and New York), 251.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 252.

The History Quiz

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THE correct spelling of a word is a fundamental but a dry fact. In working a crossword puzzle the spelling of a word is still fundamental, but it is no longer dry or uninteresting. Historical facts, too, may seem dry to the young boy sleeping at the back desk of an Ancient History class. However, those same historical facts sent spinning across the world on radio waves in response to the question of a master of ceremonies of a "Double or Nothing" or an "Information Please" program will keep that sleepy boy, and his parents, too, sitting on the edge of their chairs until late at night.

There are hundreds of sleeping boys in the rear and front desks of history classes throughout the land. Arouse them into a little activity by radio methods, by any methods which will appeal to the 1945 American boy. Keep the class moving rapidly so that the drama of historical events will pass with life and motion before the eye and imagination of the students. Make their first acquaintance with any historical period an airplane view pointing out only the highlights, the interesting points, the real sights. The fast movement of the scenes that are flashed before the student's eyes will keep his interest. His lasting knowledge of the facts, which are the experience of the world, can be mastered in a series of concentrated and interesting reviews.

While the teacher is making the great and important events of the past take place once more by his vivid descriptions and his emphasis of interesting details, he can check on the student's active attention and progress by brief, daily tests. The main check and the main means of effective teaching will be the use of well planned, concentrated reviews, and these reviews must be so planned that old, frequently repeated facts will remain interesting. This can best be done by means of contests.

How to do it

Everyone loves a game. This universal interest in contests is evident from the almost endless variety of "quiz" programs on the various radio networks. The history teacher should make good use of this natural desire to win a contest, a desire which is in the heart of every boy.

In planning a review program an important point to remember is that sustained interest will only be held by a real variety in the types of contest. A number of contests can be given here as examples. They will be just a few that have been tried and found to be successful. Many others can be developed and should be developed to meet the particular interest and ability of different groups.

A familiar contest is the elimination game in which the student who cannot answer the question sits down until there is no one left in the line except the one winner. The main weakness of this type of contest is the fact that it gives most practice to those who need it least.

A "Double or Nothing" program conducted one day

by the teacher and the next day by some of the students will offer an excellent review. To add the stimulus of the penalty or reward motive to this contest, the teacher can assign a seven-hundred word composition to every member of the class before the contest starts. Each question which is correctly answered takes one hundred words off the composition, and if the contestant answers all the questions including the "sixty-four dollar one," he is completely excused from writing the composition. However, if he misses any of the questions on the way up to the "sixty-four dollar question," he must write the whole seven hundred words.

A good contest for interest and results is the "Quiz Kids" or "Brain Trust" program. Three of the better students are chosen to stand the whole class. During the first half of the period the Brain Trust must answer all the questions asked by the class. The teacher appoints a class chairman who designates which member of the class is to ask the question. Any member of the Brain Trust may attempt to answer the question, but once one man has started to answer, he must complete the answer without any help from the other two. If he cannot do this, a check is marked against the Brain Trust. During the second half of the period the process is reversed. The Brain Trust asks the question and everyone in the class who knows the answer raises his hand until someone is selected by the class chairman to give the proper answer. If he fails, this is a check against the class. The winner between the class and the Brain Trust is determined by the number of mistakes made on both sides. Again a penalty or reward can be previously determined.

Another effective means of review is the "Truth or Consequence" program. The names of all the students in the class are written on separate little cards. These are mixed in some type of box or hat. The teacher then asks a question; and, after the whole class is given time to think of the answer, the name of one boy is picked out of the box and he must give the answer. If he is correct, the scorekeeper gives him a correct mark; if he is wrong, he gets a downcheck. This process continues until at the end of the class a count is made to see who made the most mistakes and who answered the most questions correctly. The winner gets to determine the "Consequence" for the loser.

Always popular are the main contests of football, basketball, and baseball, each in its own proper season. One-half of the class stands the other. The football game starts on the fifty-yard line and there is a ten-yard gain for each correct answer. A failure to answer or a mistake means loss of the ball. For any disturbance or talking the offending side loses the ball and ten yards. The extra point after touchdown can be made by answering one extra-hard question.

A basketball game can be played in the following way. Possession of the ball at the start of the game is de-

terminated by the toss of a coin. If the team in possession of the ball answers a question, it is considered a shot. If the defensive team immediately answers the next question, this is a successful block: no basket. If on the next try the shot is made again and the defensive team fails to answer their question, the goal is good, and the score 2 to 0. Foul shots should be given for any talking or other disturbance.

In baseball each answer puts a man on base, but one mistake retires the side. Talking on the part of the defensive team means an automatic walk; talking on the side of the offensive team means the side is retired.

In all the above games it is better to draw the names out of a hat than to ask the questions according to the order that the boys sit in the rows. Pulling out the names keeps the whole team on their toes. They never know just when they are going to be needed in the game.

There is practically no end to the variety which can be given to the contest-review system. Intra-row contests, intra-class contests, student teachers, contests of identifying men and events with the help of slides—all these are just a few other examples of what the teacher with a little ingenuity can do to make history interesting and effective.

The interest of the class can be gained by covering the matter rapidly at first, not just in textbook fashion, but with many interesting details collected from all sources, interesting sources not just "scholarly" sources. The effective learning of the class can be united with interest, not by means of daily, dry drill, but by periodic reviews in the form of contests.

Classical Antiquity

(Continued from page fifty-eight)

amalgamation of the ideas of the Newtonian World Machine with the psychology of Locke.¹⁴ Secondly, we have the fascination which was felt by Montesquieu for the travelers' tales of customs and laws among the noble savages and the peoples of the Orient.¹⁵ For Montesquieu, at least, it is probable that the New Rationalism was the paramount driving force insofar as it directed him to a scientific investigation of laws and politics. He examined with great diligence the customs and laws of peoples of all ages and climes from Paraguay to Persia, from his own age to the days of Greece and Rome. But, although some of his most commonly known theories, such as the influence of climate, are the results of his own travels and the tales of other travelers, the main substance of his political and legal theory was derived from his careful study of Greece and Rome. His *Considerations* is essentially an investigation of legal and political dynamics to determine what

made the Roman state great and what made it decay. It was the preliminary historical investigation from which sprang the *Spirit of the Laws* fourteen years later in 1748.

A brief proof of the above paragraph can be found in Montesquieu's own words. In the opening paragraphs of the *Spirit of the Laws* we find admirable expression of his philosophy of law and theory of the nature and scope of the Social Sciences.

Laws in their most general signification are the necessary relations which arise from the nature of things. In this sense all beings have their laws: the Deity his laws, the material world its laws, the intelligences superior to man their laws, the beasts their laws, man his laws.¹⁴

Man, as a physical being is like other bodies governed by invariable laws. As an intelligent being, he incessantly transgresses the laws established by God and changes those of his own instituting . . . the political and civil laws of each nation ought to be only the particular cases in which human reason is applied.

They ought to be adapted in such a manner to the people for whom they are framed that it should be a great chance if those of one nation should suit those of another.

They should be in relation to the nature and principle of each government: whether they form it, as may be said of political laws; or whether they support it, as in the case of civil institutions . . .

This is what I have undertaken to perform in the following work. These relations I shall examine, since all of these together constitute the *Spirit of the Laws*.¹⁶

To Montesquieu, therefore, Roman history was one of the social science laboratories wherein he would discover these laws.

The world is not ruled by fortune. We may appeal to the Romans, who experienced a continual succession of prosperities while they governed themselves on a certain plan, and an uninterrupted series of reverses when they conducted themselves upon another. There are general causes, moral and physical, which act upon every monarchy, building it up, maintaining it, or casting it down. All accidents are submitted to the control of these general causes: and, if the hazard of battle—that is to say, a particular cause—has been sufficient to ruin a State, there was a general cause which determined that such a State should perish by a single battle. In a word, the principal movement of events draws with it all particular accidents.¹⁷

To Montesquieu the New Rationalism gave the method of inquiry and directed the process of drawing conclusions, but it was classical antiquity and to a lesser extent the travelers' tales which furnished the raw material for his investigations into the social science of laws and politics.

The Main Classical Authors and Their Influence

It is evident that if one could find a particular trend in the thought and interpretation of the writers of classical antiquity, this would be an important step in the examination of their influence upon the growth of the European mind. It is not to be thought that Aristotle and Plato dropped into oblivion with the advent of Francis Bacon. Their influence continued and they retained their position of preeminence. Cicero was read for his style and his urbane philosophizings. Lucretius was influential among a few, such as Hobbes and d'Holbach, for whom he served as the basis for their materialistic atomism. Epicurean, and above all Stoic, ideals permeate the majority of classical writers. These "natural" philosophies of conduct were bound to become increasingly influential as religious dogmas and Christian moral teachings fell into disrepute.

(Please turn to page sixty-seven)

¹⁴ The scientific influence was mostly English and is adequately treated in J. Dedieu, *Montesquieu et la tradition politique anglaise en France—les sources anglaises de l'Esprit des Lois*. Paris: Lecoffre, 1909. Chapter XI, "L'Originalité de Montesquieu" is a valuable discussion of the various influences.

¹⁵ See Muriel Dodds, *Les récits des voyages, sources de l'Esprit des Lois de Montesquieu*. Paris: Champion, 1929. A more popular work on the "noble savage" in French literature of the century is H. N. Fairchild, *The Noble Savage; A Study in Romantic Naturalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928).

¹⁶ *Spirit of the Laws*, I, i, 1; I, i, 14; I, iii, 12-16.

¹⁷ *Considerations*, XVIII, 13.

Jesuit Stage

(Continued from page sixty-two)

connection of the dances with the theme of the play. If, for example, the drama concerned war, the dance in the entr'actes ought to describe the causes of and preparation for the war; if peace was the subject, the dance was supposed to portray the effects and advantages of peace; and if the wicked deeds of envious or ambitious men were shown, the dance would bring the horrible results of these vices to the eyes of the audience in an impressive manner.

Lejay, too, exacted of gesture and motion that they be more than merely artistic and elegant; he asserted that the ballet could claim existence only if its movements had a definite meaning, if they had something to say. Lejay was the first dance theorist to be influenced by Du Bos' epoch-making *Réflexions sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (1719) which, appearing six years before Lejay's work, was the first to gauge the contemporary ballet against the dance of classical antiquity. Following the lead of Du Bos, Lejay reminds the reader of the antique *pantomimi* and, with an Aristotelian turn of phrase, demands that the dance be an expressive representation ("imitatio"). However, according to his stage directions for the single dances, his interpretation of *imitatio* seems to imply merely descriptive characterization. These directions are the more valuable as source material since Lejay describes the practices employed by the ballet-masters and dancers of the Paris Opera (chiefly Blondy, Laval and Malter). These men not only directed, but also took part in the ballets performed by the pupils of the Jesuit schools.

The dance of the winds, to quote Lejay, should be airy and fleet, with much pirouetting to indicate the whirling of the winds. Vulcan's strides and those of the Cyclops should be slow, heavy and abrupt, like hammer blows on an anvil. Peasants should tread the ground with sturdy steps, their movements rough and ungainly. Grief should be outlined by slow, halting steps with the gaze alternating between heaven and earth, and with hands now wrung in despair, now falling limp. Joy, on the other hand, should be portrayed by spirited, lively steps hardly touching the ground and again and again soaring in leaps, with hands stretched aloft or arms outflung, the whole body light as a feather. In the portrayal of madmen and drunkards a wild aimlessness and lack of co-ordination in steps and gestures should express their mental disintegration.

These rules of "representation" as a superficially schematic characterization were in agreement with the practice of the secular opera dance of that day. It was these rules which enabled Lejay, in spite of his Aristotelian definition, to incorporate singing and declamation in the ballet; the spoken or chanted text was added as an aid toward a fuller understanding of the scenes that were danced.

Lejay himself composed many ballets, and the importance this religious dramatist assigned to the dance is expressed in these verses, spoken by one of his characters: C'est à la danse, à la musique,
Que le théâtre doit ce qu'il a de douceurs.

The French Stage

The ballet of the French Jesuits continued to avail itself of the compositional make-up of its prototype, the Court ballet, long after this older dance form had disappeared from existence. The Court ballet consisted usually of a series of *Entrées* (danced scenes) which, singly or in groups, were introduced and explained by *Récits*. In earlier days, these *Récits* were either sung or spoken; later, they were exclusively sung. In the Jesuit ballet not only the newer, sung form of *Récit* but also the old-fashioned type with its blend of speech and song persisted well into the eighteenth century.

On the French Jesuit stage, the relationship between the dramatic action and the ballet scenes was comparatively loose. The examples by Jouveney, cited above, mirror exactly the procedure. From the enormous mass of material to be found in the histories of the various French Jesuit schools, we can take off-hand only a few instances. In the tragedy of "Theseus," truth triumphs over the wiles of Medea; this furnishes the *raison d'être* for a ballet of "Truth" danced in the entr'actes. In the drama "The Fall of Babylon" the king's fate is foretold in his dreams; wherefore a ballet of "Dreams" supplements the action.

In place of these *ballets d'attache*, as Menestrier called them, independent ballets were often staged. Sometimes they were intended to do homage to Louis XIV, who frequently attended the Jesuit performances. (He himself was a dancer of merit and thus a most discerning onlooker.) At other times, these dances were of a purely didactic character. It is astounding how much ingenuity and imagination were expended in translating the most abstract themes into visible movement. In 1697, Lejay produced a "Ballet of Youth," which was the exposition of an entire educational system. Its four parts showed the process of the mind being trained by science, the heart by warnings against vice, the body by physical exercise, and lastly, set forth the benefits of play and recreation on the entire organism. Another ballet offers a typical example of abstract ideas expressed allegorically: Time triumphs over Integrity, Strength and other Virtues; thereupon appears History who, in her turn, achieves victory over Time and binds him in chains. (This particular ballet was directed by Beauchamp, the famous ballet-master of Louis XIV.)

In a further ballet of this genre, entitled "The History of the Dance," the dance itself was the subject matter. The story was divided into four ages: 1. Egyptian—the astronomical, magic and ritual dance; 2. Greek—the politico-military, religious and dramatic dance; 3. Roman—the dance of triumph, the comic pantomime and the animal dance; and finally, 4. the "modern" dance which consisted chiefly of the Court dance, the spectacular ballet, the masquerade and the historico-literary ballet (and by that was meant the Jesuit ballet!). The dance as a means of education was once more exemplified in "The Theatre as a School of Virtue" (1727) wherein, we are informed by the prologue, it should be shown "how stage performances can be turned into useful as well as pleasant lessons." The producers of these didactic ballets shrank from no absurd-

ity to make the abstract visible, as when in Pater Du Cerceau's dance-drama, "The Defeat of Grammatical Blunders," the Aorist and the Supine appear as stage characters. Le Sage in his famous poem, "Le Diable Boiteux" (The Limping Devil), derides this pedantic type of ballet.

The Jesuit Stage in Italy

In Italy and Germany, the Jesuit ballet held aloof from such far-fetched and fantastic allegories. With the Italians the model for the relation between dance and drama was set by the contemporary opera, whose rise coincided with that of the Jesuit drama. In both opera and Jesuit drama, dancing occurred during the course of the single acts. In addition, the Jesuits had dances performed as intermezzi; as in the opera, these illustrated in an allegorical manner the subject of the drama.

Adorned with a profusion of dance forms are, for instance, the tragedies of Josephus Simon Anglus (1594-1671)—provided we can claim this English Jesuit an Italian dramatist. Joseph Simons, as he was known in England, was from 1623 to 1631 master at the College of St. Omers, Pas de Calais (France), where his five tragedies had their initial performances. But it was Rome that witnessed their earliest triumphs; here two of them, "Mercia" and "Zeno," were first brought out in print. The second act of "Zeno" (first played at St. Omers in 1631 and acted and published in Rome in 1648) begins with a "scena muta" intended to foreshadow the trend of the entire play. William H. McCabe quotes the English version of this passage from the free translation and adaptation of "Zeno," called "The Imperial Tragedy" (London, 1669). In this scene the two rivals, Longinus and Anastasius, who are scheming for the Crown of Byzantium, dance with the Goddess Fortune:

Enter *Fortune* blinded, carrying in her hand a wheele of skie colour spotted with gold, to which is fastened on one side a gold Crown, and opposite to it an Ax; to the handle of the wheele is fastened a gold rod, which *Fortune* pulling by intervals as she Dances, makes the wheele turn: To her enters a man drest like *Longinus*, who dances with *Fortune*, she, letting down her wheele, seems to offer him the Crown, which he catches at; but by a quick turn of the wheele, is presented with the Ax: Then enters another man drest like *Anastasius*, who dances with them, and as often as he meets the first Man, bows low to him; but at last comes behind, and trips up his heels. Then *Fortune* presents the Crown to the last Man: and so all dance off severally.

In the third act of "Zeno" there is an entire Court ballet scene—a play-within-a-play—whose dancers, by the way, end by taking active part in the dramatic action. The last act is abundant with dances. In all of Josephus Simon's tragedies, the dances either grow organically out of the dramatic development, or are closely bound to the specific character of the scene in which they are performed.

Intermezzi, building up small complete dramas out of songs and dances, are featured in the tragedies of Zuccarone, principally in his "Leone Armeno" (1666). This work also contains one of the magician scenes, typical of the Jesuit drama. In it demons perform a prophetic war dance. Sometimes, the dance assumed a purely decorative rôle; this was notably so on the stage of the Collegio dei Nobili at Naples.

In Germany

Our knowledge of the religious stage in Germany is

more minutely detailed than that of the Italian Jesuit stage. This we owe to the numerous printed editions of the performed works and the theoretical expositions of the directors (such as that of the above cited Franciscus Lang), as well as to the modern researchers, especially Reinhartstöttner, Scheid, Zeidler, Dürrwächter, and, more recently, Willi Flemming and Johannes Müller.

From about the middle of the sixteenth century when the Jesuits first organized their dramatic performances at Vienna and Munich, dances had already made their way into the dramas. At the Munich nuptial festivities in 1568, described by Massimo Trojano in his famous "Dialoghi," the Jesuits presented the tragedy "Samson" by Andreas Fabricius. This drama not only boasted magnificent choruses written by Orlando di Lasso (1532-1594)—next to Palestrina he was the greatest composer of that day—but each of its acts was followed, in the Italian mode, by an intermezzo having an allegorical connection with the preceding act. Two of these intermezzi included dances: one, a leaping dance done by twelve Satyrs, the other, a mysterious fluttering and flying dance of night-birds.

The first gripping example of a great dance scene closely related to the dramatic action was a dance of the dead in "Godefroy of Bouillon" (Munich 1596), a drama aimed against the Turks then threatening Austria. In order to prepare for the appearance of Godefroy, who is to be resurrected to lead a new crusade, the guardian angel of Palestine summons the dead warriors from their graves. One by one, eight skeletons appear, some creeping out of their graves, others climbing from their coffins. After some hesitation, each crosses the stage in tremendous leaps and then stares with amazement at the others, and at heaven, earth and surroundings. Thereupon, by posing and striding about, by bending and stretching, they dance their joy, gratitude and happiness at their return to earth. The dance evolves now into a gentle swaying, now into mighty bounding leaps. Finally, the dead warriors approach and survey each other from different points, one walking around the other. They greet each other with outspread arms and thereat, in precisely defined and articulated movements, render the Dance of Joyful Recognition.

Subsequent to this comes a demoniacally grotesque scene. The dead come upon a skeleton who is still asleep, cast off his covering and with solemn gestures, raise him joint by joint until he stands upright. They then place a sword in his right hand. Accompanied by accelerated music, they dance about him in a circle, and as the music gradually slows down, place him, in the same ceremonious way, back into his grave. Again the music increases its pace and the eight skeletons, joining partners, perform a figure-dance of exultation which culminates in vehement leaps. "Cohibete choreas, umbrae!", the Angel now commands, whereon the jumping changes into an almost motionless dance of sorrow. Out of this develops a grand, dramatic ceremony of farewell to the Dead One with the Sword, to earth and to heaven. The scene ends with a powerful "memento mori." The skeletons point their left hand at the

audience, then direct gaze and hand toward the earth and finally open wide their arms as if to embrace the onlookers. At this they retreat one by one into their graves.

This dance of the dead—it has a memorable worldly counterpart in the “Ballo delle Ingrate” by the Italian Claudio Monteverdi (Mantua 1608)—is the first of a great number of like dances peculiar to the German Jesuit stage. Some of them are dramatizations, part allegory, part morality play, of those medieval poems and paintings wherein typical representatives of the ages of man or of the various estates are invited by Death to join his “dance,” as for instance, the “Drama Tragicum of Death,” enacted at Ingolstandt in 1606. In other dramas, like the Munich “Godefroy,” the dead are themselves characters in the play. Often such a “Dance of the Dead” served to foreshadow the doom of the hero. In the tragedy “Ludovicus Pius” (Neuburg 1619) eight dead “bring forth the corpse of the deceased emperor and perform a dance in his honor.”

The most singular example of an adaptation of this theme is the “Totenspiel” (Death-Play) given at Augsburg in 1640. In the third act there is a wedding festival with much dancing and merrymaking. A band of “disguisers” enter and engage in a frolicsome dance. They ask Paris, the hero of the tragedy, to lead them into another room so that they might change their costumes for a new dance. While two pantaloons are diverting the guests with a comic dance, the disguisers outside strangle young Paris and reappear in the great hall made up as skeletons. They seat Paris, who is similarly costumed, in the midst of the wedding guests, none of whom suspects the presence of an actual corpse. Then the disguisers begin a dance around Paris, slinking away one by one until only the two pantaloons are left to caper about him. Gradually the wedding guests sense something eerie about the motionless Paris. They taunt and attempt to rouse him. Finally they tear the mask from his face—and discover he is dead.

The power of entrancing the audience by scenic means, as exercised by the Jesuit stage in the Dances of Death, was evidenced too in a large number of different forms. In “Cenodoxus” (1609), Jacob Biderman (1577-1639), the greatest of German Jesuit dramatists, pictures the haughtiness and subsequent descent into Hell of the Doctor of Paris. Honored, admired and acclaimed on earth, he is condemned by Heavenly Judgment because, in his overweening passion for glory, he forgot his God. In the death scene the imps of hell dance jubilantly around the dying Doctor, and devils and angels carry out a dancing fight for his soul.

A peak of Baroque dramatic art was reached about the middle of the seventeenth century with the productions of the Viennese dramatist, Nicholas Avancini (1611-1686). This poet from South-Tyrol had been active since 1636 in Vienna where, as “Court Poet of the Ferdinands,” he composed many dramas and festival plays for the emperors. In his “Ludi Caesarei” all the love for pompous display of the mid-Baroque was given free rein and every possible device that Viennese art and mechanical ingenuity could contrive was pressed

into service for the staging of the festive processions, war tableaux and dances of all kinds. Martial dances, hunting scenes, star dances, the friskings of nymphs and satyrs, terrifying caperings of hell-sprites, dances of Roman priests and of barbarians—every form of the worldly ballet called upon to enrich and heighten the effect of the Avancinian dramas.

Avancini and his contemporaries also fostered the more pantomimic dance scenes: the invocations, the magic consultations, the dream apparitions. They had a special fondness for representing soul-struggles by means of allegorical figures. Thus, a mother’s grief at the capture of her sons would be shown by a dance of the Sorrows tormenting the heart of this mother and finally being put to rout by heavenly spirits.

The most individual form of scenic drama produced by the German, and more specifically the Viennese Jesuit stage, was the sequence of allegorical intermezzi sung and danced between each act in juxtaposition to and paralleling the plot of the main drama. Originally the moral of the play was elucidated by *Chori*, that is, commentaries chanted by several choirs during the intermissions. In order to make these didactic commentaries more dramatically graphic, they were replaced by the paralleling intermezzo actions. Their subjects were provided by the Bible or appropriated from ancient mythology whose figures were familiar to the Baroque mind not merely as traditions but rather as allegories, i.e., representatives of ideas and concepts. For example, the biblical tale of Abraham’s sacrifice would be paralleled by the mythological tale of Perseus and Andromeda. When Abraham is commanded to sacrifice Isaac, Andromeda in the accompanying entr’acte play, is shown being chained to the rock. Like the biblical youth, the mythological heroine is in danger of becoming a victim of Death. When, at last, the angel intervenes to halt the slaying of the lad, this action is mirrored in the scene of Perseus releasing Andromeda and leading her off to a happy ending. Thus, the moral of the drama (in this case the conquest of death by the soul) was strongly emphasized by duplicating the idea in the intermezzi.

The Benedictine Stage

The history of the dance on the Jesuit stage can be traced well beyond the middle of the eighteenth century. In this later period, however, there were no longer any original innovations, simply a continuation of the grand tradition of the Baroque. On the other hand, the stage of the Benedictine order gave birth to several arresting characteristics. Their performances, primarily those at the Alma Benedictina in Salzburg and the monastery at Kremsmuenster, were as richly interwoven with dances (both as part of the action and as intermezzi) as were the Jesuit dramas. The Benedictines surpassed the Jesuits in their realism and in their feeling for folk-life. With a homespun humor they depicted the comic aspects of daily living. The local dialect was resorted to in some of the intermezzi and gay, lively, farcical dances added to their folksy character.

In the eighteenth century entire burlesques and pantomimes with the stock characters of the *Commedia dell’Arte* were given as intermezzi and interlarded with

those dances inherent to the Italian Comedy. At the monastery of Ottobeuren, during its prime in the eighteenth century, the dance also essayed a definite though less important rôle than at Salzburg or Kremsmuenster. It was never treated here as an independent feature but solely in close connection with the plot of the drama. Even within these bounds there were never solo dances, the *Salii* (dancers) appearing invariably in groups as *Umbræ*, *Pastores*, etc.

But the Benedictine stage had a rather limited sphere of activity as against the Jesuit theatre which for more than two centuries was important throughout Europe not only as a medium of education and propaganda but also as a model for secular dramatic literature.

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The literature concerning Jesuit drama and Jesuit theatre is extraordinarily extensive. In connection with the essay above, there can be given only a small selection of the most important texts, historical expositions, and monographs in which are to be found references to the dance on the Jesuit as well as the Benedictine stage.

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The Renaissance

(Continued from page sixty-four)

set man against man in mortal conflict. They disarranged man's proper hierarchy of values, and by seeking to exalt man as an individual they degraded him as a person. The Renaissance, then, is intimately related to the contemporary problem of peace in at least these ways:

1) In this period Western man turned his back on the sources of strength from which European culture derived. Late medieval culture was justly held in disrepute by Renaissance man, but instead of uprooting the noxious errors which had grown up he turned away from the system itself. Much of it lived on—some still does—but the tree had been severed from the roots that nourished it. From this time on Western culture ran on accumulated momentum, for it had no way of re-viving itself.

2) Both good qualities and bad were developed in this period. For many years medieval culture had been decaying. Scholastic philosophy had degenerated into the skeptical Nominalism of Occam; the nobility no longer performed any positive service, but continued to exact all it could from society; the secular unity of the Empire had become more and more a fiction; the members of the hierarchy had come to use their positions for personal aggrandizement, and religion was too often merely a business. Social, religious, and political bonds were loosed and the individual was free to carve out his own destiny.

This he did in new and sometimes good ways. Growing curious and no longer trusting authority, he found new continents and new laws of physics. He discovered the richness of antiquity and came to worship at pagan shrines. By giving free rein to his boundless energy he created some of the greatest artistic masterpieces of all time.

3) But unfortunately for himself and for posterity, man was freed from traditional restraints and his energies were given full release just at the time when the governor and the pilot were lost. For the authority of medieval Europe's great teacher, the Church, stood discredited in the age when it was most needed. Man's limitless energy could thus be turned against himself and his neighbor, while the voice of his old teacher, who would soon be strong again, was a whisper rather than a thundering command in his ear.

4) The main mark of this individualistic age, however, was not so much a denial of traditional doctrine and morality (though that element was present) as it was an absorption in affairs of this world. Man cut himself away from God and from the authority of His Church without generally denying either. He lived, nevertheless, as though he were unconcerned with a hereafter, as though his one concern was to gain fame eternal in this world.

5) Finally, it should be observed that this new amoral, individualistic culture, which is generally called the culture of the Renaissance, affected only a small proportion of the European populace. The peasantry

and the poorer classes in the cities went their way in 1500 much as they had in 1300, not feeling the new dynamic forces which had been injected into the body politic of Europe—and not caring much what was happening to the people higher up.

But the small numbers who were affected included the important people of Europe, the wealthy men in the cities and the ruling families who would combine to give Europe her government and her culture in the future. Within their circle the contemporary problem of peace—of securing order and tranquility within men's hearts, among men, and between nations—had originated. This is the class that would fix the tone of modern society, write its books, and control the forces that would impress on it its cultural imprint. And though the peasants and craftsmen were not affected at once, in time, as they entered school and political life, as they acquired reading ability and the thirst for money and power, they too fell heir to the legacy of the Renaissance.

Classical Antiquity

(Continued from page sixty-two)

However, there is a more subtle kind of influence which must not be overlooked. The classical age was always regarded as a kind of "golden age" somehow to be striven for. By the eighteenth century, as the Europeans became more historical-minded, the deeds of the ancients became "philosophy teaching by example," which was the usual philosophy of history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁸

The most popular prose author was undoubtedly Plutarch. Livy and Cicero were certainly next in popularity, and Sallust and Tacitus were also widely read. It is interesting to note that the view of ancient life and history which they present is a uniform and restricted one. All of them wrote between 80 B.C., the date of Cicero's *Pro Sexto Roscio*, and 120 A.D., the approximate year of Plutarch's death. All of these writers lived after the great days of the Roman Republic were definitely past, and all looked at least a little wistfully back to a more "virtuous" and republican era. With the possible exception of Cicero and Plutarch, all were morbidly dissatisfied with the present in which they lived. All, even Cicero, tended to contrast their present in the light of a more glamorous republican past.

The truth of the above statements is immediately grasped upon reading the writings of these men. A profitable work would be to piece together from the writings of these authors their complete picture of those golden days. Such a study should also include Polybius, Horace, and Virgil. The idyllic portrayal of the pristine Roman character is not confined to the first ten books of Livy.

¹⁸ This same concept of the moral purpose of history was a commonplace among Greek and Roman historians. The Preface of Livy to his *History* is typical:

"What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable is this, that you behold the lessons of every kind of experience set forth as on a conspicuous monument; from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate, from these mark for avoidance what is shameful in conception and shameful in result."

Prospects

The writer of these pages is firmly convinced of the necessity and importance of the study of the influence of classical antiquity upon the making of the modern mind. Studies need be made of the classical authors themselves to evaluate properly the impressions such writings would make upon minds of the intellectual, social, and cultural milieu of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The main writers, thinkers, and men of action of these centuries should be examined individually for an evaluation of the classical influence exercised upon them. The indirect influence of the classics should also be studied. Thus, for example, Montesquieu was influenced by classical antiquity and his works might well have influenced others who had little first-hand contact with classical authors.

An objection might be raised that such studies are of little more than academic interest and of no vital moment. The possible results of such studies are hidden by our ignorance. Many a scientific discovery or mathematical innovation at first seemed useless, but a fuller knowledge later showed them to be of great technological importance.

But at least three vital questions of the moment might profit by investigations into their classical backgrounds through the eighteenth century: (1) the philosophical bases of laissez-faire Liberalism, (2) the genesis of modern totalitarian philosophy, and (3) the eighteenth-century origins of modern Nationalism. Hobbes and d'Holbach had a known influence upon the English Utilitarians who are the main philosophers of Liberalism. We also know that Lucretius had a great influence upon both Hobbes and d'Holbach and thus we may see more clearly the philosophical assumptions upon which Liberalism is based. Rousseau is the progenitor of the modern national state. We know that Plato, whom Rousseau called "the greatest of philosophers," exerted a great influence upon the concept of state and nation in the *Social Contract*. Since a false notion of corporatism and idealism is at the basis of every theory of the totalitarian national state, it may be that we can more fully understand the error by examining the process by which Plato was thus misinterpreted. Writing under the influence of Roman history, eighteenth-century writers emphasized the nation as an entity which can act, think, and feel almost as a physical living organism. The grandeur of Rome and its imperial and military might awed eighteenth-century writers, even the most pacific, into admiration. Examination might show that herein we have the true seeds of romantic nationalism plus militarism and imperialism. To hark back to an old cliché, men are still wanted "to push back the frontiers of knowledge."

Italian Pasquinades

(Continued from page sixty)

The love for political satire and lampoonery did not die in Italy with the events of September 20, 1870. Even today clever pasquinades and epigrams may be found without difficulty.

Recent Books in Review

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Idea of Progress in America, 1815-1860, by Arthur Alphonse Ekirch, Jr. New York. Columbia University Press. 1944. pp. 305. \$3.50

This volume is the five-hundred and eleventh of a series entitled *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*. The subject has been well chosen, for it is of considerable importance in the understanding of the early period of American History, and its influence in our own day.

In this "story of American faith in progress," the author has given us a very good picture of the essentials and has woven the details into an interesting and complete description. Because of a repetition of sentence form, especially in introducing his over-numerous quotations, Dr. Ekirch has produced a style that is drab in places and tiresome to the reader. Numerous footnotes and a bibliography of thirty-one pages show considerable research work. Perhaps this too might be noted, that the conclusions of the writer himself are not clear in most cases, since his main treatment is that of a collector of evidence for opinions of the period in question.

The first chapter, on the *Heritage of the Idea*, gives a very good historical background, though it includes some general statements inevitable in a short introduction to such a study. Former contacts with the period of Enlightenment in England and in France should prepare the reader to enjoy this chapter.

The political experiment in the United States is discussed in the second chapter, in its relation to the idea of progress. The doom of the Indian race was a part of the inevitable action of the laws of progress. There was a "deathless spirit abroad upon the world," and even in this early period, America was out to help other nations to see the light. Peace and progress were forever linked, and war was considered as a hindrance to all progress.

In the third chapter the writer deals with the material expansion of the nation. He points out how the writers of this period were optimistic for internal improvements, and fully confident in their abilities. It was during this time too that the Know-Nothings and the Anti-Catholic programs were most in vogue, with Morse and other writers placing *America First* as the slogan of the closely united Protestantism and progress.

With the era of steam and the coming of the telegraph, the rapid advance of science appeared to be the most obvious evidence of this steady progress of man, of a sure confidence in the human powers. Utopias were planned, and the correct systems of education were sought for by men such as Brisbane, Greeley, and the Transcendentalists.

The sixth chapter deals with the defense mechanism which was set up to keep social stability. Here revelation and theology come in for their share of progress. The writer admits gladly enough that "the Catholic Church seemed to be the most steadfast representative of social stability in a world of change."

Education, the Universal Utopia, tells of the increasingly secularized system of education in the United States, and of the control exercised over it by money, merchant and politics. Man must be educated to progress, and the "more learned, the more virtuous, powerful and happy" he will be. However, some held to a more solid basis for progress, and wanted a more "thoughtful, hopeful, serene, religious" kind of training.

The South's main contentions in progress were for an apotheosis of the right of free trade and of slavery. But a systematic investigation into the idea of progress was carried on in the period itself, as the author points out, as when Sumner, in 1848, gave the history and development of the idea in his talk at Harvard. To him, the law of progress might be defined as "indefinite improvement."

With the world today looking at the past century as one of a serious jumble of ideas and attempted practices, a clear picture of the foundations of the "Idea of Progress" in the materialistic and atheistic writers of earlier times, and an understanding of the place such ideas had in the growth of our own traditions and institutions, will give to the present-day search a more solid foundation, a more realistic attitude toward the "sacred" liberals and the anthropocentric sociologists. The reader of Dr. Ekirch's book will find a wealth of information for such a picture of the first half of the last century.

R. NEENAN

Inter-American Affairs — 1943, edited by Arthur P. Whitaker. New York. Columbia University Press. pp. 277. \$3.00

This is the third annual survey in the valuable series begun in 1941, the first two numbers of which have been reviewed in the pages of THE HISTORICAL BULLETIN. There is little more that need be said of this volume save to continue the commendation given its predecessors. The series continues to be a practically indispensable tool to the teacher or student interested in current trends and developments in the Other Americas. One feature of the studies which is excellent is the fact that Canada is given rightful consideration in the Inter-American picture, along with the twenty Latin American republics.

Not that any section should be particularly signalled out, for all the contributors of the several chapters do a very adequate job of analysis, still the notes on "Industry, Commerce, and Finance" are especially enlightening. As Latin America becomes more and more industrialized, it is valuable to be able to trace the progress year by year. As in its predecessors there are in the present volumes the very helpful statistical tables of George Whyte, the "Inter-American Chronology for 1943," and a useful listing of the chief executives of the several states. The editor's "Summary and Prospect" is, as usual, penetrating and suggestive. JOHN F. BANNON

The Completion of Independence 1790-1830, by John Allen Krout and Dixon Ryan Fox. A History of American Life, Vol. V. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1944. pp. xxiii + 463. Index. \$4.00

This volume has as its dominant theme the relation of the United States with the old world and the influences that continued to flow from Europe in the early decades as America was slowly evolving her own culture. The Revolutionary War, granting to Americans political independence, inspired them to strive also for cultural independence from Europe. This aspiration began to emerge clearly in the form of intellectual activities and interests, in the evolution of various professions and arts, in the development and slow advancement of education, religion, reform and philanthropy.

All aspects of American life during the period 1790 to 1830 are thoroughly explored. The turnpike era is given considerable attention as a unifying factor of the young and growing republic. Selected details of life in the country and in the expanding city, on the farm and on the plantation, and life in the old Northwest give the reader a fuller account of our nation's history in its making. The rising factory, the counting house, the political and economic developments, the leading personalities of the time, and the whole political pattern of national growth are described in rich detail.

The volume is well documented throughout. Of particular interest to the historian is the concluding chapter, "Critical Essay on Authorities." Occasional illustrations provide additional interest for the reader. In the chapter "The Challenge to Liberal Thought," the authors are perhaps too reticent about the Catholic side of the issue, although it is not overlooked altogether.

The Completion of Independence should find place on every library shelf. WILLIAM H. STEINER

Pitchfork Ben Tillman, by Francis Butler Simkins. Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Louisiana State University Press. 1944. pp. xii + 577. \$4.50

A life of Benjamin Tillman must necessarily be of local rather than of national importance. The work Tillman did in South Carolina, organizing the common, white farmers together into a party that was destined to replace aristocratic elements in government, and to maintain power in the state up to the present time, must be noteworthy, albeit of questionable value, in South Carolinian history. The work Tillman performed as United States Senator from 1895 to 1918 is undeserving of national recognition. He was, of course, a colorful, influential member of Congress; but his activities were marked by narrow-

ness of view, political opportuneness, and careless ethical principles. He followed Democratic party lines, fighting first for free silver, then opposing Theodore Roosevelt on almost every issue, and closing his career with strong support for Wilson and the war program. Mr. Simkins concludes his treatment of Tillman the Senator with the words, "he did not leave behind him a record of achievement to number him among the greats of an illustrious legislative assembly."

This biography is one of a series entitled *The Southern Biography Series*. As an informative work on his particular subject, Mr. Simkins' book is doubtless of considerable value and quite suitable for the series. It represents excellent and extensive research on Tillman, and is written in a clear, even, interesting style. As history, it is disappointing. This reviewer was unable to find in all the accumulation of facts and in the objective treatment, an adequate estimate of Tillman and his accomplishments. Particularly conspicuous by its absence was a judgment of the agrarian movement in South Carolina. Mr. Simkins, an expert on the Tillman movement, was exceptionally well equipped to make the judgment, but, perhaps for reasons of his own, failed to do so.

There are several things in this book which should not pass without objection. There is, first of all, something of an inclination to glorify the faults of Tillman. He was a blustering, harsh, intolerant person with definite political failings, but Mr. Simkins so tempers his criticism as to leave the impression that such failings are not to be deprecated. Then, the treatment of Tillman's prejudices against the Negro is still more objectionable. The bitterness and hatred described deserve condemnation, especially in this day when the evils of race prejudices are recognized by most thinking men. It is, therefore, astonishing and dismaying to find such a statement as the following without adverse comment: "Ben Tillman fostered the modern reaction against the Negro. This achievement was one of his most significant influences on American life." (p. 407) To such an achievement one would think that a biographer would devote most of his attention and analysis, but it is passed by with the same coolness shown the account of the many injustices done the Negro by Tillman.

It is, as I said above, disappointing to read a book like this, done with meticulous, scholarly care, and yet offering no criticism of the very point of the subject which is considered "most significant."

JOHN GINSTERBLUM

Report of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association: 1941-42 and 1942-43.

The annual reports of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association are again printed in two sections corresponding to the two lingual divisions of the association. They are not translations but two different sets of papers. In addition to the reports there is an account of the annual meetings, indices of members, and the like.

In the 1941-42 volume there are some interesting and valuable papers, such as "The Excavations of Old Fort Ste. Marie," by T. J. Lally, S.J., "The Centenary of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate," by F. E. Banim, O.M.I., "La situation religieuse au Canada français vers 1840," by M. l'abbé Lionel Groulx, and "Le rôle du clergé pendant l'insurrection de 1837," by M. l'abbé Raoul Martin.

The volume for the succeeding year likewise contains some articles well worth the reading for one interested in the Catholic history of our northern neighbor. Of particular interest are: "Daniel John O'Donoghue, Father of the Canadian Labor Movement," by John G. O'Donoghue, and "Les débuts d'une congrégation; les Soeurs Grises de la Croix à Bytown, 1845-1850," by Soeur Paul-Emile, s.g.c.

ROBERT F. JELINSKE

The Valley and Its People, by R. L. Duffus and Charles Krutche. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1944. pp. 167. \$2.75

Today the Tennessee Valley Authority is appraised by partisans and critics of the New Deal alike as the one indisputable social and economic achievement of the pre-war Roosevelt administration. With deep feeling and conviction Mr. Duffus has traced in broad outline the history of the Tennessee Valley and its People—as they were prior to 1933 when the Tennessee river had been an indolent but destructive giant and its power wasted, and as they are today when, after ten years of TVA, its boundless energy works for the people who live in the valley. The Tennessee Valley Authority represents a technical accomplishment, a record written in concrete and steel, and in forests renewed and land regained. Here one can learn what men with

imagination and faith can achieve and what modern science can effect in a brief period of time to change the face of earth and water. But technical reports will interest experts. The average person will measure the change in the life of the valley people in reports of human drudgery relieved, of new private industries established, of new life and fruitfulness to worn-out lands, of more money in people's hands. Small cotton towns of yesterday are now busy river ports, and new enterprises are arising along its course. The author has substantiated the argument for public regulation and for a large measure of public ownership of mechanical power by citing the example of the TVA, an autonomous government agency whose administration is local.

The work exhibits much study and coordinated research; and despite the large print and relatively few pages, there is a wealth of factual information. This is an extremely interesting and timely book whose author offers a convincing picture. A notable feature is the pictorial portrayal of the valley and its people in a series of excellent photographs arranged by the Graphics Department of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

MARSHALL B. WINKLER

EUROPEAN HISTORY

Suleiman the Magnificent, by Roger Bigelow Merriman. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press. 1944. pp. 325. \$3.50

To Christian historians the momentous sixteenth century is a galaxy of great names. Charles V, Francis I, Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and Phillip II, among rulers, come to mind immediately. Among conquerors and explorers are mentioned Cortez, Pizarro, Don Juan of Austria, Drake, and Magellan. In the field of religion one thinks of Ignatius of Loyola, Martin Luther, Theresa of Avila, Paul III, and Charles Borromeo. In art there flourished Raphael, da Vinci, Michaelangelo, Titian and a host of others. In letters we recall Erasmus, More, and all the Italian humanists. But one name which deserves to be placed in the front rank of sixteenth century personalities, and which through an understandable bias on the part of christian historians has been too consistently omitted, is that of Suleiman the Great, or as his own people called him, "El Kanuni," the Legislator.

This mighty potentate was a contemporary of Henry VIII, Francis I, Charles V, and for a while of Elizabeth and Phillip II. The magnificence and breadth of his empire equalled and surpassed that of any of his rivals. He held his own against the master of Christendom, Charles V. He benignly condescended to enter into an alliance with Francis I, king of France.

And now at long last Suleiman the Magnificent has been brought into an historical prominence which is a little more proportioned to the place he actually held in the sixteenth century world. Professor Merriman has tried, with an unusual amount of success, to place himself in a position of sympathy with the Turkish-Mohammedan conqueror. He has attempted to view Suleiman's long reign of conflict with Western Europe from an objective point of view, rather than that of a christian beholding the deadly enemy of his faith and civilization. I think that he has succeeded even to the point of being overly sympathetic, at times.

Suleiman the Magnificent is a great boon to scholars. The work is fully documented and annotated. More attention is given to an accurate presentation of material than to a facile presentation, but this will be more appreciated by scholars than condemned. Four contemporary portraits of Suleiman are included as illustrations, and colored maps are found inside both covers. An eight-page appendix discusses some of the better known portraits of Suleiman. Particularly valuable is the bibliographic material. Four pages are devoted to a discussion of the chief sources and over six are given to a chapter by chapter bibliography. Professor Merriman has used primary sources wherever possible. He has quoted many and lengthy passages from contemporary chronicles and records.

The book deals chiefly with military and political problems and events, but, as Professor Merriman points out in the preface, Suleiman is chiefly a military and political figure. The first chapter is devoted to a brief history of the Ottoman Turks up to the accession of Suleiman. One chapter attempts to delve into the slippery question of Franco-Turkish relations, and two others go into detail in pointing out the civil and social customs Suleiman had to face in the government of his empire and household. The method of governing conquered peoples

as well as the Sultan's own subjects is excellently treated. The seventh chapter contains a wealth of information on civil and juridical procedure in Turkish and Moslem dominated lands.

I sincerely believe that Professor Merriman has contributed something really worthwhile to an otherwise neglected field of research. There is at hand a surplus of material on that other great fact of the sixteenth century, the Protestant Revolt, but we have too little information on Islam and its Sultan, realities which were all too present to the Christians of the sixteenth century.

ROBERT F. JELINSKE

Beyond All Fronts, by Max Jordan. Milwaukee. Bruce Publishing Company. 1944. pp. xiv + 386. \$3.00

Among the many bitter things the German people were asked to swallow after Versailles, particularly obnoxious was the guilt clause written into that document. But the reparations clause did more than embitter. Four years of war had set the minds of the victors on extracting every possible revenge. Yet it is a sad piece of spite that exchanges a durable peace for a momentary and doubtful triumph. Max Jordan's is one of many voices raised in the hope that such a mistake be not repeated.

European birth and education, experience as a globe-trotter and as N.B.C. broadcaster for many years in Europe, plus some years on the American scene and U. S. citizenship, are the credentials he presents. The work of establishing contacts for the broadcasts to be made to the U. S. radio audience led him into many of the experiences that form the framework of his book. In Berlin, his immediate acquaintances were the members of a group devoted to the democratic principles that seemed to offer hope of a reborn Germany and a peaceful Europe after Versailles. Year by year, from 1919 on, they were the saddened witnesses, however, of the unthinking opposition—at home from the military and communists, abroad from France and the other Allies—that finally destroyed this only bulwark against Hitlerism and broke the back of Brüning's efforts.

The story of these men is but one of the points in instance he brings forward to support his main thesis. The enemy is not the whole German people, but the false leaders and their brutal hirelings, whose first conquest and enslavement was of Germany and the Germans. In Mr. Jordan's eyes there is a real and practical distinction here, which must be recognized at the risk of facing World War III. It is hard to determine exactly what he considers to be a just peace arrangement. On one or two occasions he speaks with affection of a federation or Holy Roman Empire. Generally, however, his plan would seem to be for a simple system of popular democratic states. Even at this early date, though, the difficulty seems present in some of the now liberated countries that arose after the last war in Germany, during the process of self-determination.

Beyond All Fronts makes little pretension to scholarship in presentation. The author has a point to make, and he chose his own way of winning sympathy to his view that the Germans, by their sentiments and "underground" activity, have exonerated themselves of complicity in Nazi guilt. He would also see to it that the peace and reconstruction be accomplished on a more just, more objective, more Christian level than was had in the twenties. Perhaps in his efforts to win Anglo-American sympathies his presentation of national misdeeds and errors of judgment was overkind to England and the United States, in view of the stern attitude he adopts towards French conduct.

Aside from such subjective elements in an admittedly purposeful treatment, the book deserves the careful reading of those who seek a mirror of the past in which to learn for the future. May the high resolves issuing, in recent years, from those in authority, see execution in a peace based on the principle that all men are equally members of the human family, and all peoples are part of the family of nations. To secure this the democracies must work in a democratic spirit. In this regard, though Mr. Jordan does not mention it, one wonders what the spirit of our communist ally will be?

DONALD CAMPION

CHURCH HISTORY

Church History in the Light of the Saints, by Joseph A. Dunney. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1944. pp. 465. \$2.75

The history of the Catholic Church is the history of the wisdom and the fortitude of the Holy Spirit expressing itself

in the lives of great men from the time of St. Peter down through each successive century to those who labor heroically for her at the present time. That the Catholic Church has made a deep impression on every age and has been a vital element in the making of world history, no honest historian would deny. But the Church which wielded that influence is made up of individual men, each with his own personality, his own talents, his own vocation. The closer each one's union with God and the greater his sanctity, the greater was his personal influence on the people and events of his day.

Father Dunney, an author who needs no introduction to Catholic readers, centers his treatment of the History of the Church around one outstanding saint in each century from Saint Peter in the first to Saint John Vianney in the eighteenth. The lives of Saint Rose of Lima and Saint Isaac Jogues are added to exemplify the spirit of the early Church on the two American continents. The author does not claim that the saints whom he has chosen are the greatest of that period, but rather his preference seems to have fallen upon those who in their high degree of sanctity mirror the spirit of the Church surrounded on all sides by political and social forces. At times these forces are favorable, but at others they are violently opposed to the holiness and unflinching courage of the Church's loyal sons and daughters.

There is nothing of the formal, stereotyped style of old Church historians and biographers. Father Dunney gives the movement, life, and color which each character or event deserves, catching in a remarkable way the spirit of the vocation of each individual saint. They are all leaders carrying forward the counsels and example of Christ, fighting, planning, dying for the Faith they hand down from generation to generation. The author knows his Church history and the lives of the saints well, and he combines them into a swift-moving, dramatic, and impressive story.

This book has a helpful feature in its make-up which is worthwhile mentioning. For the average person history, with its innumerable details of dates, names, and places, is an insuperable burden for the memory. Few Catholics know their Church history because of the memory difficulties involved. Father Dunney's book offers an excellent example of the solution to this problem. The whole answer lies in the understanding of relationships rather than the memorizing of cold dates and facts. If I know the life of one saint in each century well, other saints, statesmen, and events will group themselves around this saint in a series of relationships which will not only be interesting but also much more easily retained in the mind. Church history no longer is a series of meaningless dates, people with odd names, and struggles with no significance, but it becomes a real story filled with dramatic action and heroic endeavor centered around one ideal. Church history lives in the saints.

The five maps in the book and the comprehensive chronological tables at the beginning of every chapter are added helpful features. The extensive bibliography in the back of the book is also of value.

JAMES REINERT

Flame in the Wilderness, Life and Letters of Mother Angela Gillespie, C.S.C. (1824-1897), by Anna Shannon McAllister. 508 Marshall Street, Paterson, New Jersey. St. Anthony Guild Press. 1944. pp. xiv + 358. \$3.50

The inspired writings tell us and at considerable length of King David's "three valiant men." (II Kings, XXIII, 8-23). But they challenge: "Who shall find a valiant woman?" (Proverbs XXXI, 10). Mrs. McAllister has met the challenge, and triumphantly.

Her valiant woman, number one, was *Ellen Ewing, Wife of General Sherman*. The reader of that authentic biography will readily agree that in the service of heaven Mrs. Sherman was no whit less valorous than was the general, her husband, in defense of our Federal Government. The second valiant woman comes to us with her visor down. *In Winter We Flourish* is the motto, we may say, on the shield of that noble, generous, and indefatigable convert, Mrs. Sarah Peters. And valiant woman, number three, *Eliza Maria Gillespie*, in religion Mother Angela, when honors are distributed, may appear as the brightest and the bravest of the trio, and certainly far surpassing, as do the other two also, in true valor, King David's masculine champions.

This latest volume is happily entitled *Flame in the Wilderness*. The Savior said that He came to cast fire on the earth

and what would he but that it be enkindled. As early as the days of the French and Indian war, 1765, a little glow of that fire, smouldering in the warm Celtic hearts of Cornelius Gillespie and his wife, Eleanor Dougherty, is discernible to an historian's eyes in the wilds of Delaware. Presently it breaks into a blaze—and converts are won to the faith—in western Pennsylvania; but it is only in the fourth generation, in northern Indiana, that the Flame appeared whose brightness lighted up the nation. The Flame was Mother Angela. She cast that fire, which the Savior came to enkindle, conspicuously far and wide throughout the world. So widespread, successful and wonderful were her activities, as portrayed here by our author, that without any figure of speech they may be called apostolic.

The Church is indebted to Mrs. McAllister for resurrecting these three glorious women from the oblivion to which our near-blindness to worth-while things was consigning them. Here are three very diverse stories that are interesting and are true. The facts narrated have been verified with meticulous care. There is not a dull chapter in any of them, and in this last volume the chapter where Eliza Gillespie awakes to the realization of God's call—a dying Negress seeing her in a beautiful ball room dress thought the Lord had sent an angel to call her home—and the chapter where Mother Angela is one of the "Angels of the Battlefield," are enthralling.

These are books that adorn a Catholic home. They are fountains of delight and of inspiration, if not to activity, perhaps even better—to humility.

The Scriptures, after extolling the "three valiant men," add a long list of others whose deeds might seem to equal these. It is to be hoped that our author may find a host of such women.

LAWRENCE J. KENNY

Maryknoll Missions Letters, vols. I and II, 1944. New York. Field Afar Press. pp. 55; 55. \$1.00

Our Neighbors the Chinese, by F. D. David. New York. Field Afar Press. 1944. pp. 92.

During the past year few letters have come from Maryknoll Missioners across the Pacific; but from those few the reader can discern an array of bright pictures in which the hardships encountered in missionary life are lightened by the glory of achievement. Amid terror-striking bombings on mission property and the increased poverty of China's millions of inhabitants in their seventh year of war, numerous conversions are made, native vocations increase, and new mission stations are established in China's interior. From the excerpts of the missioners' letters flow a persevering courage and constant effort to bring Christ's message of love and peace to a non-Christian nation. Glimpses of the lighter side of Maryknoll's efforts are portrayed when, for example, Bishop Ford recounts how the presentation of an operetta in his diocese brought the spirit of Christmas into a thousand homes and how the audience was thrilled by the music of hymns to the Mother of God.

Maryknoll's activity on the mission front today, however, is not confined to China alone; Central and South America, too, are now witnessing the apostolic endeavors of its priests. From Bolivia and Peru come accounts of the Indians' devotion to the missioners, of native customs and ceremonies that antedate the Spanish conquest, of a Eucharistic Congress held on the mountains. There are tales of priests fatigued by weeks of personal efforts to stimulate enthusiasm in the natives; there is depicted the spiritual tragedy that clouds the grandeur of Central America—the dearth of priests to minister to its inhabitants. The editors of "Maryknoll Mission Letters" have selected excerpts from diaries and letters that are both interesting and enlightening.

"Our Neighbors the Chinese" introduces the reader to the people of China, explains Chinese characteristics and ideals, and sketches a pattern of daily life in modern China. The author has correlated many pertinent facts about a nation whose culture can be traced back in unbroken succession to the Stone Age. Of particular interest is the history of Christianity in China and the position of the Church during the past hundred years.

MARSHALL B. WINKLER

SOCIAL SCIENCE

The Mystery of Iniquity, by Paul Hanly Furfey. Milwaukee. Bruce. 1944. pp. 192. \$2.00

This book is written for Catholics active or interested in the fields of social action, social work, sociology, economics, and

political science. Catholics have a doctrine of their own about the ills of society, the causes, and the remedies, a doctrine which is "completely and utterly different" from that of the unbelieving social scientists and the modern world in general. Social evil is not a purely natural phenomenon, cannot be explained in purely human terms, and cannot be remedied without the use of supernatural means. Consideration must always be given to the "mystery of iniquity," a Pauline phrase which Father Furfey interprets as "the satanic plan to frustrate the work of Christ," a secret plan that is beyond human comprehension, that operates through the use of violence and deception, and a plan that is aided in its machinations by an organized society called "the world." A practical attack on social problems must indeed, the author grants, be concerned with natural factors—even the mystery of iniquity operates mostly through secondary causes—but the Catholic must go further, must realize that "far beneath the immediate causes the mystery of iniquity is at work and that the real solution is to attack the latter" by supernatural means as prayer and the sacraments.

It follows as a corollary, according to Father Furfey, that Catholics in the social field must recognize the radical antithesis between their own and the materialistic viewpoints and "break sharply with materialistic social philosophy." Those Catholics who try to avoid the break, to dodge the issue, or who in their writings do not insist on the sharp antithesis, are dubbed *Catholic conformists* by the author, who does not hesitate to add that such conformism "can be explained only in terms of cowardice." The major portion of the book, ten of the twelve chapters, is then devoted to a study of Catholic conformism. The reasons for it, and the excuses alleged by the conformists are given. Conformism in sociology and social work, in dealing with the problems of labor, the family, and racism, in the prevalent attitudes towards wealth, nationalism, the conduct of war and the conditions of peace—each illustration is relevant and timely. The final chapter is an appeal to Catholics to "come out from among them, be separated," to cease the folly of attempting to conciliate Catholic and non-Catholic social thought, and to "stand by ourselves in honorable isolation."

It is possible to disagree with Father Furfey, not of course with his insistence on the importance of the supernatural in the social life of man, nor indeed with his condemnation of Catholics who, under circumstances which demand or even merely allow a statement of Catholic doctrine, keep silent out of timidity or a desire to conform to prevalent non-Catholic attitudes. There can be no doubt about the sharp antithesis between Catholic social *philosophy* and the prevalent materialism or naturalism, nor about the need of stressing this fact whenever social philosophy is in any way relevant to the question or situation. Less certain, however, is the contention that Catholic social doctrine must always be stressed, and indeed as antithetical, when the subject matter is limited ex professo to scientific aspects. Opponents of Father Furfey's position—and some of them are far from being conformists in the sense of being cowardly compromisers—would give greater weight than he does to two distinctions. First of all, "social problems" and "sociology" are not the same thing, and it does not necessarily follow that, because any social problem of its very nature involves morality sociology as such must also be Catholic or moral. Most social problems have an economic, a political, a psychological, an ethical, and a religious aspect as well as a purely sociological: failure to distinguish between these aspects destroys the very basis of the several social sciences. If the social aspect is not distinct from the moral, then sociology and morality are one and the same science. Perhaps they are—that precisely is the debated point—but those who hold for the distinction are not by that very fact conformists. Similarly, a distinction should be made between sociology as such and the teaching of sociology. A Catholic may hold that sociology itself is an amoral science—a "social" rather than a "physical" science to be sure—but he could never teach it in an amoral way. For it is the function of the teacher not merely to impart a certain number of truths, be they social or moral, but also and especially to integrate these truths with the whole of knowledge, to indicate their relative importance, and so on. Father Furfey seems to argue too often from what the teacher must accomplish—and the same applies, of course, to the publicist, the social worker, the occasional lecturer—to what the science must be. A final point of disagreement will be on the difficult question of just what is prudent in the many concrete instances mentioned by the author. We readily agree that altogether too often Catholics use the plea of "prudence" in excusing their actions, or lack of action; still prudence is a virtue which has

its application in the social field as well as elsewhere. Father Furley rightly condemns "exaggerated supernaturalism," but not everyone, even aside from the conformists, will agree with his own definition of what is prudent in each concrete situation.

Whether one agrees or disagrees with the more controversial parts of the book, it is well worth reading. For, like all Father Furley's books, it is as a whole stimulating, provocative of thoughtful self-examination, and suggestive of profitable modifications of attitudes and actions. This is especially true for teachers of the social sciences, including teachers of history.

L. P. McHARTIE

A World to Reconstruct, by Guido Gonella, translated by T. Lincoln Bouscaren, S.J. Milwaukee. The Bruce Publishing Company. pp. 335. \$3.50

The papal Christmas messages of 1939, 1940, and 1941 which are presented with full commentaries in *A World to Reconstruct* give us an ideal picture of the Pope as the center of our world at war, a world hostile and forgetful, a world which is unwilling to owe anything, openly at least, to Christianity. This clear and penetrating analysis of the Christian solution to our now muddled international crisis was first published by Dr. Guido Gonella in a series of articles which appeared in the Vatican daily, *L'Osservatore Romano* in the first half of 1942. As the works received lavish praise all over the world, the American Bishop's Committee, headed by the Most Reverend Samuel A. Stritch, Archbishop of Chicago, immediately made plans to use these articles to delineate more clearly the thought of the Sovereign Pontiff. Father Bouscaren was well fitted to do the work of translation, as he is a well-known and highly esteemed jurist, to whom the American clergy is already grateful for his practical publication of *Canon Law Digest*.

These commentaries or notes of Dr. Gonella have no official character. Their value lies in their absolute objectivity and impartiality, and the sole aim of the author has been to reflect faithfully the teachings of Pius XII and the "Pope's Program."

The plan of the work comprises a comparative study of the five points of each of the Christmas messages of 1939, 1940, 1941 in which are defined those "essential prerequisites of an international order" which cannot be disregarded by those who, after the storm has subsided, will labor to rebuild a new international order. The first part deals with the essential problems connected with the reform of international moral practice, that is, the principles of international ethics; in the second part the author deals with the reconstruction of international order, that is, he considers especially the renewal of international institutions in the spirit of the Christian law of nations. In the conclusion Dr. Gonella points out why Christianity has a primary role in the establishment of a new cooperation between peoples.

The research of the author and his extensive knowledge of the subject of international policy are manifested by the innumerable cross references, comparisons, and documentary notations. Though the difficulties of pointing out a certain plan for peace among the nations of the world are tremendous, they are faced squarely, their validity and strength are admitted, but the author does not hesitate to point out that the goal which all men must desire, the *tranquillity of order*, is obtainable only if the fundamental principles propounded in the papal messages are incorporated in international agreements. The strength of logic and law is brought to bear forcefully and accurately on many important and much disputed points, such as: utility and justice, the force of right, national egoism and solidarity of peoples, minorities, total war, treaties, economic cooperation between peoples, international institutions.

In general, we can say that *A World To Reconstruct* is a clear and accurate presentation of the requisites for peace as enumerated and explained in the Nativity allocutions of Pius XII. Though not meant as a popularization and watering-down of peace plans, it is a necessary book for all those who wish to know what a Catholic international lawyer, in the light of historic record, with keen analysis of previous arbitrary and ill-conceived plans, would say to clarify the basic principles to be used in solving the problems now confronting all nations.

DONALD N. BARRETT

The City of Brooklyn, 1865-1898, A Political History, by Harold Coffin Syrett. New York. 1944. Columbia University Press. pp. 293. \$3.25

Brooklyn, in 1865, was the third largest city in the United States. By the turn of the century its population had risen to 1,166,582, and about that time Brooklyn boasted more regis-

tered voters than any one of seventeen different states in the Union. Although many of its inhabitants went to work in New York, nevertheless at the zenith of its prosperity Brooklyn was the fourth largest industrial city in the nation. Before losing its individuality in 1898 through amalgamation with New York, Brooklyn had won the admiration of the world during four years for its reputedly "model" charter, and the widely acclaimed "Brooklyn plan" of city government. But the same Brooklyn was ruled almost continuously by one of the bossiest of the nation's political bosses; it suffered the pains of corruption—common to almost every American city—in government, roads of expansion, and administration of such essentials as the city's cleanliness, education, and public utilities. And the city of Brooklyn had an end, for as the old year became the new 1898 the old flags of Brooklyn and New York merged into the modern flag of Greater New York.

Mr. Syrett chose a quite interesting and fruitful subject for his study. After introductory chapters on the topographical and social composition of Brooklyn in 1865, the author conducts us through the history of the city's alternating periods of home rule, Albany rule, and finally home rule again until its amalgamation with New York. We get a rather adequate picture of the municipal government's growth. For the most part a city controlled by the Democratic Party, Brooklyn endured the "milking" activities of the ring dominated by Boss McLaughlin for over thirty years. Spasmodic efforts at reform accomplished little until Seth Low assumed the mayoralty in 1881. Himself disinterested in political patronage or party squabbles, Low had the single determination of cleaning the debris from Brooklyn politics by means of a thorough business administration. He was aided in his project by the new city charter, recently adopted, which placed greatly increased power in the hands of the mayor. It was owing to the fact that Seth Low, an exemplary mayor, was the first to use the advantages of the "single-head" plan, that the plan won the universal esteem of students of government in the last decades of the century. With Low's passing, however, the plan's inherent weakness showed itself in the weak and corrupt rule of unprincipled successors. It was a proof that not charters, helpful as they may be, but men make the difference between good and bad government.

Although evidently in the nature of a doctoral dissertation, and hence quite impersonal and loaded with frequently insignificant footnotes, the book is well written, captivates and sustains interest, develops according to a definite plan. The accounts of such scandals as those involved with building the Brooklyn Bridge, buying the Long Island water works, handing out franchises for public utilities, and meting out "justice" to unscrupulous officials are thorough, well documented. As usual, the reader feels himself the subject of impotent rage at the corruption in government permitted by an apathetic citizenry.

The book is a valuable addition to studies in municipal government, and libraries concerned therewith would be well-advised to have it.

JOSEPH B. SCHUYLER

Book Notices

Mention of a book in this column does not preclude a more detailed treatment in subsequent issues.

Maurice Garland Fulton has won the applause and gratitude of those interested in the history of the West by the masterful piece of editing he has done on the literary remains of Josiah Gregg. This man was not only a colorful pioneer, but was himself an author and historian. His eye took in many details, and his pen recorded many incidents that might easily have escaped another's notice.

The present volume covers a three-year period, 1847-1850, during which Gregg made excursions into Mexico and California. The diary account and details from letters are carefully edited by Mr. Fulton. Work of this sort is a necessary prelude to the narration of a significant story—the tale of the *Golden West*. (*Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg*, edited by Maurice Garland Fulton. pp. xvii + 396. University of Oklahoma Press.)

From the Oxford University Press a new series of books, comprising the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, have been issuing. Under the editorship of Dr. Karl Mannheim these books are designed to aid in the solution of current problems in the social and economic sphere. In the light of this purpose the nature of a work such as *Creative Demobilization*, by E. A. Gutkind, is immediately evident. The author studies attempts at national and large scale regional planning undertaken in the Soviet Union, and in part, in the United States.